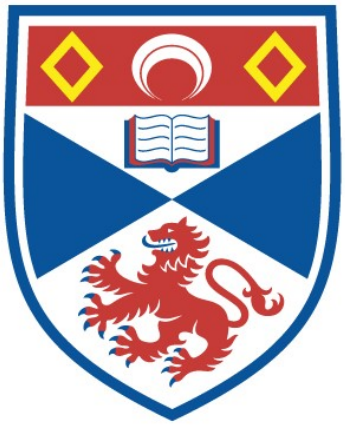
#WEJAMMINSTILL: AGENTIAL REALISM AND TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO'S ABSENT TERRORISM NARRATIVE

Mya Kaisha Alexander-Owen

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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#WeJamminStill: Agential Realism and Trinidad and Tobago's Absent Terrorism Narrative

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This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of

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Abstract

This work examines the limitations of Securitisation Theory by applying it to an ethnographic case study of Trinidad and Tobago – the state with the highest per capita ISIL recruitment rate in the Western World. It examines the reasons for the absence of a terrorism narrative for that country until very recently, where one might expect a narrative to have existed for decades. It argues that securitisation thinkers must continue to extend their arguments, as gaps in the current approaches are limiting their utility. To make this argument it shows that while securitisation theory on its own, fails to explain the absence of a narrative due to ineffectively providing a means to address contextual considerations, Agential Realism is able to effectively integrate the necessary historical and cultural realities through the quantum thinking informing its diffractive methodology and its hauntological approach to time and space.

In applying both securitisation theories and Agential Realism to the case, it can be seen that history and culture are deeply entangled with the security politics of Trinidad and Tobago as a post-colonial state – as they are for the many other former colonies which make up the global landscape. This work shows that conventional approaches to understanding security in Trinidad and Tobago are limited in the questions which they can answer and that if the discipline seeks to have more profound understandings of a wide range of actors and be truly 'global', it must be willing to continue to push the expanding boundaries of critical orthodoxy.

Contents

Introduction

When one thinks of the Caribbean, certain images tend to be conjured up in the mind. These images for your average vacationer might include tropical landscapes, for sport enthusiasts they might include cricketers or track athletes, and for avid party-goers they might include the elaborate carnival fetes and costumed street parades. For very few though, would mention of the Caribbean summon images of political violence or terrorism. Nevertheless the Caribbean is home to both. Indeed, in recent history, Trinidad and Tobago, one small-island state within the region has come to be known for its role as a recruitment ground for the terrorist group known as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (hereafter Daesh). When this knowledge became widely known, both in and outside of Trinidad and Tobago, it was met with surprise and even disbelief, as there existed no terrorism narrative for that state either domestically or internationally.

Upon closer examination of the case however, one can easily become perplexed by the absence of this narrative, as Trinidad and Tobago can be shown to have a history featuring significant incidents of political radicalism, radical militant Islam and links to terrorist activity. This introduction shall for that reason, now proceed to outline the context which suggests that some form of terrorism narrative ought to have existed by the time Daesh recruitment emerged from the islands.

Terrorism and Trinidad and Tobago

In order for a terrorism narrative to be justified for Trinidad and Tobago, it must be demonstrated that there is in fact a degree of activity related to the twin-island state that would warrant some sort of discourse domestically and or globally. The review of relevant literature therefore, shall survey the history of terrorist related activity as it relates to the twin-island republic.

Trinidad and Tobago has during its short history as an independent state, had 2 attempted coups, both of which occurred at times of economic strain and intense public dissatisfaction. The first of these was in 1970 (Griffith 2005, 107) and took place within the context of 'The Black Power Revolution' in which thousands took to the streets. A state of emergency was declared, however, this backfired with a mutiny within the army (Griffith 2005, 122). The situation was eventually brought under control with the assistance of the United States however it has been noted that there was a distinct possibility that it could have been successful, bringing with it a socialist revolutionary government (Duncan 1991, 55–64).

In the wake of this uprising, the government of Trinidad and Tobago utilised the wealth afforded it by petroleum price increases to abate the frustration of the populace and managed to keep peace for two decades (Duncan 1991, 71). Nevertheless social inequalities were identified as a potential motivation for terrorist activity (Alexander and Nanes 1986, 239). Despite the government's efforts, in 1990, the Jamaat al Muslimeen, a Muslim sect located in the capital of Port of Spain (hereafter the Jamaat) bombed the police headquarters and besieged the Red

House – home of the Parliament - holding hostage the Prime Minister A.N.R Robinson as well as most of the Cabinet.

The insurgents also took control of the national television network which they used to make statements of intent and to spread propaganda to the nation while holding 25 persons hostage. Another group of hostages were being held at the National Broadcasting Station (NBS) as the radio was also being used by the group to broadcast their activities. During the week that followed, 23 persons were killed and 300 injured during the widespread shooting, looting and arson which took place. In the wake of the events, approximately 4000 persons were left unemployed and an estimated 300 million Trinidad and Tobago dollars in property damage was left behind (Griffith 1991, 10–11). All 144 members of the Jamaat who were involved in the coup attempt were charged with treason and their leader 'was charged with 15 offenses including treason, 9 counts of murder, firearm possession and hostage taking' (Griffith 1991, 11).

At the time of the coup attempt, there was no legislation in Trinidad and Tobago which spoke to directly to terrorism as a specific offence, however Neville Duncan (1991, 65) openly refers to this event as an act of terrorism and the official Commission of Enquiry Appointed to Enquire into the Events Surrounding the Attempted Coup d'Etat of 27th July 1990 (hereafter the Commission of Enquiry) also refers to acts of terrorism carried during this insurrection (Simmons et al. 2014, 102). In a sworn affidavit on the events of the coup, Acting President in 1990, Emmanuel Carter, identified the group as terrorists (Simmons et al. 2014, 318–19), and in 2014, then Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, Kamala Persad Bissessar in support of her co-sponsorship of Resolution (S/2014/688) at the UN General Assembly is reported to have remarked on the coup as an

experience with terrorism (Douglas 2014). It is notable, that generally the trend regarding the coup was that those in proximity to it – Duncan as an academic, the witnesses interviewed by the Commission of Enquiry and the Acting President – were those who referred to it in this way – as an act of terror - with the Prime Minister's comment coming 15 years later as the country was forced into the spotlight at the UNGA due to Daesh recruitment, such that it became necessary to make a statement.

The Commission of Enquiry - in contradiction to Trevor Munroe's assertion that politically and ideologically motivated terrorism has not been a feature of the Caribbean security landscape - found that the intent of the coup was to overthrow the incumbent government and replace it with a new administration which was intended to be constituted at least in part by Jamaat members. Bakr was reported to be intending to introduce the Islamic system as he experienced it in Libya, to Trinidad. He is reported to have claimed that it was 'decreed by Allah' that Muslims change the system - which speaks to the group's desire for an Islamic state (Simmons et al. 2014, 779).

Darius Figueira (2002, xix) describes the 1990 coup-attempt as 'a Muslim insurgency, a jihad' which could not be considered or understood outside of the context of Islamic discourse. While he opposes and dismisses the notion, Figueira (2002, xxi–xxii) acknowledges that the Jamaat was branded a radical Islamic terrorist organisation with ties to Libya since its inception in the early 1980s and that successive administrations have attempted to link the organisation to international terror groups. Griffith (2005, 123) also acknowledges these allegations of ties with terrorist cells in the Middle East, while making note that credible evidence has been lacking in

this regard. Both of these works however were published prior to the findings of the Commission of Enquiry and as shall be discussed shortly, the inability of these investigators to explicitly provide evidence may not necessarily be an indication as to the group's innocence.

Since the publication of both of texts cited above, the Commission of Enquiry has revealed that Jamaat leader, Abu Bakr, had ties with Libya where a number of the organisation's members had received 'terrorist training' and where Bakr had himself visited a number of times negotiating for money, ammunition and mercenaries for the cause (Simmons et al. 2014, 401). Financing was eventually obtained primarily from supporters in Libya and Saudi Arabia (Simmons et al. 2014, 630). So proud was Bakr of his ties with Libya, that he kept a photograph of himself and Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi in his office at the Jamaat's headquarters (Pantin 2007, 11).

Four short years later in 1994, two Trinidadian nationals were arrested while crossing the border from the United States into Canada, where they allegedly plotted to detonate bombs in a Hindu temple and at an East Indian movie theatre. They each served a sentence of twelve years in Canadian prison before being deported to Pakistan, where the group with which they were affiliated – *Jamaat ul Fuqra* is based (Ferrand 2009). The Islamic organisation is reported to also have a compound in Trinidad and Tobago (Ali and Rosenau 2008, 15).

On June 02, 2007 the US authorities subdued an alleged terrorist plot to blow up fuel lines and tanks at the John F. Kennedy airport in New York. Amongst those charged in the conspiracy was Imam Kareem Ibrahim, of Trinidad and Tobago who was sentenced to life in prison for the crime (Terdman 2010, 567). In the same year, the Jamaat was also suspected of detonating four bombs concealed in trashcans in Trinidad's capital and its suburbs. These were in public areas where

only members of the public were likely to be, rather than any political targets and scores of civilians were injured as a result. The Jamaat was also accused of detonating four bombs in the town of Chaguanas, in 1983 (Figueira 2002, xxi).

In 2014, nineteen Muslims were held in Venezuela under suspicion of involvement in terrorist activities. Venezuela's intelligence agency found 'jihadist uniforms' and videos in the hotel rooms of the arrested men, three of whom were Imams who were in possession of 66 Trinidadian passports at the time. They claimed that they were taking them to the Saudi Arabian consulate for visas so that the citizens could go to make the holy pilgrimage. Venezuelan officials' investigations suggested that they were instead trying to renew the passports through the Trinidad and Tobago consulate in Venezuela for travel to Syria, with the possible aim of fighting in the Jihadist war (Bailey 2014). Video evidence obtained by officials showed some of the men undergoing what appeared to be jihadist military training in Caracas. Eight of the nineteen continue to be held in Venezuela after being charged for terrorism and criminal conspiracy. At the time of writing, the Trinidad and Tobago government has ceased to seek repatriation (Jamaica Observer 2014).

Since that time, a man by the name of Adnan Gulshair El Shukrijumah, described as a 'top al Qaeda terrorist' was killed in an operation in Pakistan in December of 2014. Shukrijumah - a Saudi-born Guyanese national who was on the US government's FBI's most-wanted list for terrorism related activities - lived in Trinidad and Tobago in the 1980s as a child (Julien 2014). His father was a cleric paid by the Saudi government, to spread the radical Wahaabi doctrine there (Stabroek Editor 2010). The al Qaeda operative was known to have been in Trinidad and Tobago

for months before the 2001 attacks on the US and was reported to have been staying on the compound of an Islamic group in Central Trinidad. This group has ties to a mosque in Florida which has been linked to terrorist activity. The FBI conducted searches in Trinidad in 2003 when immigration records indicate that he was on the island, but they were unable to locate him (Julien 2014).

Also in late 2014, it was discovered that Muslims from Trinidad and Tobago had gone to Syria and joined the insurgent group Daesh. This came to the attention of the population via social media as the men began to appear in propaganda videos as well as began posting gruesome videos of their jihadist activities and day-to-day lives. Their distinctive accents were recognised and soon after, a local investigative journalist uncovered that a number of nationals had travelled to Syria to join the group. The government eventually confirmed that 50 individuals had done so, later revising official figures to 150, giving the state the highest per capita recruitment rate in the western world (Cottee 2019, 303).

In examining the literature, it would appear that Trinidad and Tobago's history with radical political activity has a degree of continuity. However it is important to note that these details had to be mined from a wide range of sources with a great deal of effort in order to illuminate a pattern for the purposes of this work. This collection of details is not representative of common knowledge in or about Trinidad and Tobago and does not constitute an established narrative. Nevertheless, a common thread in the writings about the 1990 coup is that it was similar to the previous 1970s coup attempt in that there was a significant relationship between the insurgencies and impoverished black communities.

Raoul Pantin (2007, 11–12) and Dennis McComie (2010, 9) both speak directly to the membership of the Jamaat predominantly being these types of young men who were drawn to the discipline, structure and support provided by the organisation. Similarly, as shall be explored in Chapter 4 of this work, McCoy and Knight (2016, 283–87) also profiled the Trinidadian Daesh recruit as black and socio-economically marginalised. Further to this, it can be seen that the country does have a history of radical Islamic elements who have sought to engage in terrorist activities both within Trinidad and across international borders. This introductory chapter shall consequently briefly examine the history of Islam in Trinidad and Tobago, linking it where relevant to extremist activity.

The History of Islam in Trinidad and Tobago

The first Muslims to arrive in the Caribbean did so centuries ago during the trans-Atlantic slave trade. These were primarily West African Muslims, many of whom were forced to abandon their culture, religions and traditions upon enslavement, with many being forcefully converted to Christianity. Afro-Caribbean Muslims now comprise the smallest group of followers of Islam in the Caribbean (Voll 2002, 266–67; Samaroo 1996). The majority of the Caribbean's Muslim population then arrived much later, after the abolition of slavery and the emancipation of slaves. Commencing from this time was a process of East Indian indentureship, whereby mostly South Asians migrated to the West Indies to work on the sugarcane plantations. While most of these labourers were Hindus, there were also many Muslims amongst them (Mustapha 1997, 251; Kassim 2017, 3–4).

In Trinidad and Tobago, approximately 8% of the 1.2 million person population is Muslim – just over 100,000 persons. Most of them are of South Asian descent. There has however been a return to Islam in recent times, with increased conversion, especially amongst the marginalised Afro-Caribbean segments of the population. Whilst most Muslims in Trinidad and Tobago practise their religion peacefully and are well integrated members of society, there are more openly radical segments of the Muslim population (Mustapha 1997, 263). According to Terdman (2010, 567–68), this includes 14 relatively small groups which came into being largely as a result of Middle Eastern missionary work, and also the now notorious Jamaat al Muslimeen. Views on this

vary widely as only 3 groups are recorded in the *Routledge Handbook of Terrorism,* published soon after Terdman's writing (Jongman 2011, 434).

The Jamaat is led by a former policeman – Lennox Phillips, who has gone by the name Yassin Abu Bakr since his conversion to Islam in the late 1960s. The Jamaat was formed in the mid-1980s and has been described as a product of 'the most extreme fringes of Pan-African nationalism, Black Power ideology and identity politics with Islamic rhetoric and symbolism' (Terdman 2010, 571). Mustapha (1997, 263) asserts that this organisation is considered extreme even by the 'more radical' groups within the Trinidadian Muslim community. The organisation has a membership in the hundreds and is traditionally constituted of Afro-Trinidadian converts to Sunni Islam. Its previously outlined links to Libya are said to have funded its main physical infrastructure – mosque, schools and medical facility. It has also been suggested that via this link, the organisation has sent members to the Middle East – particularly Syria and Lebanon for jihadist military training (Terdman 2010, 572). Imam Abu Bakr himself was charged with Terrorism in 2004 – the only time in the history of Trinidad and Tobago that such a charge has been laid. This came as a result of a sermon demanding that wealthy Muslims of South Asian descent donate a portion of their wealth to charity or face violent consequences. Nothing came of these charges.

In a 2014 interview with US based VICE News, Bakr proudly asserted:

> I've been charged for murder, I've been charged for conspiracy to murder, I've been charged for treason, I've been charged for terrorism, I've been charged for guns and ammunition, nothing has stuck because they have just fabricated all of these cases against me.
>
> ('VICE News Extended: Trinidad's Abu Bakr' 2014)

Terdman recognises that Abu Bakr's 'willingness to resort to violence and other radical measures makes him virtually untouchable' (Terdman 2010, 573), a notion further supported by Raoul Pantin (2007, 13). His reach is said to extend into the protective services, and ranges as far as the political elite of the government and major political parties and this is believed to insulate him from prosecution.

McCoy and Knight (2016, 284–85) claim that recent patterns of extremist travel show Daesh recruitment which corresponds to areas of Jamaat influence. Two mosques in Central Trinidad were identified as having produced many recruits – both of which are described as having 'some association' with the Jamaat and being located in areas with 'an established JAM [Jamaat] presence'. One mosque in particular, situated in Rio Claro – an area of southeast Trinidad – is known to be a splinter group of the Jamaat. These authors, writing in 2016, note that the Jamaat was conspicuously silent within a Muslim community which has for the greater part condemned violent extremism and membership in groups like Daesh. In early 2019 however, Jamaat leader Yasin Abu Bakr commented to BBC News that he told his group's follows not to go to Iraq, describing Daesh as 'utter nonsense' (BBC News 2019).

Trinidad and Tobago and Terrorism: Legal Frameworks

Immediately after the 9-11 attacks, several United Nations resolutions were passed concerning terrorism; two in the Security Council – UNSCR 1368 and UNSCR 1373 and another in the General Assembly – resolution 56/1. Trinidad and Tobago immediately expressed its intentions to take seriously its obligations under those resolutions (Gupta 2002, IV:513–14). Within its own Treaty Collection, the UN identifies 5 conventions on terrorism and a further 8 multilateral conventions on terrorism within other depositories. Trinidad and Tobago signed, acceded to and or ratified all but one of the UN conventions and each of the multilateral conventions identified in the Treaty Collection (United Nations n.d.). Additionally, at the 2014 meeting of the UN General Assembly, in the wake of officially recognising Daesh recruitment, the Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago co-sponsored the United States' resolution (resolution 2178) condemning extremism and emphasising the need to curtail the support and ability of foreign terrorists to travel.

At the regional level, the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) responded to the September 11th attacks collectively. On October 12th 2001, at a special meeting, CARICOM adopted the Nassau Declaration in which member states pledged full cooperation with the international community on matters relating to money laundering linked to financing terrorist activity and also in tracing and freezing assets which might belong to terrorist actors (CARICOM Secretariat 2001). Trinidad and Tobago was party to this declaration and its commitments were later written into domestic laws. As another regional organisation, the Organisation of American States (OAS) also responded to the attacks via the Inter-American Convention on Terrorism which was adopted in 2002. This convention had a much wider scope and called for signatories to commit to upholding

various international conventions. Trinidad and Tobago later signed and ratified this convention in 2005 (Organisation of American States n.d.).

In terms of domestic legislation, the first which can be interpreted as implicitly speaking to terrorism in Trinidad and Tobago is the Malicious Damage Act of 1925 which addresses the making or possession of explosive substances with criminal intent, arson or detonating explosives in private or public areas (Alexander and Nanes 1986, 239; 'Malicous Damage Act' 2009). Abu Bakr and his followers were charged under this Act following the 1990 insurrection. More recently in 2005, the Anti-terrorism Act was passed. It has been revised most recently in 2018 and addresses terrorism explicitly, considering offences such as the conduct, financing, support, incitement and solicitation of terrorist acts ('Anti-Terrorism Amendment Act' 2018). Trinidad and Tobago can be seen therefore as having, at least ***on paper***, committed to fighting terrorism.

Close scrutiny of what appears to be a considerable list of activity on the part of the government reveals that early legislature such as the Malicious Damage Act was inherited from the British colonial legislature as opposed to being a product of Trinidadian governance. Conventions and Treaties signed can be seen as routine and on par with the conduct of regional and global partners who did the same as part of their commitment to global governance in the post-9/11 context and were not accompanied by any form of narrative related to terrorist threat in or from Trinidad and Tobago. The exceptions to this are the co-sponsorship of resolution 2178 in 2014 and the Anti-Terrorism (Amendment) Act of 2018, each of which occurred during the period of direct international scrutiny with regards to Daesh recruitment. Chapter 4 of this work which considers the way in which domestic politics informs the security culture of Trinidad and Tobago shall

explore these exceptions framing them not as attempts to securitise terrorism – that is to say, to recognise and treat it as a threat, but rather to 'manage' terrorism, by treating it as routine as possible given that it was impossible under those conditions to depoliticise it.

This section has shown that Trinidad and Tobago has had experience with radicalisation in general as well as with radical Islam and terrorism specifically. The absence of terrorism narratives for that state prior to word of Daesh recruitment is therefore curious. Within the realm of critical security studies, theories of securitisation map the process through which an issue becomes recognised and treated as a security threat and so it is within these theories that one would expect to find an explanation for this failure to securitise terrorism as a threat in Trinidad and Tobago. This work shall argue however that approaches to securitisation are, in their current forms unable to do so and that their limitations lie specifically in the failure to articulate meaningful ways to integrate history and cultural identity into their theoretical frameworks.

Objectives

This thesis concerns itself with highlighting that gaps in current approaches to theorising securitisation are problematic insofar as they are unable to effectively account for the way in which history and cultural identity affect securitisation processes. It argues that critical security scholars need to continue to push the boundaries of scholarship to recognise the importance of these factors. This work advances that is necessary to introduce systematic means of including them in existing theoretical frameworks, which would allow for them to be meaningfully and

intentionally integrated into analyses. To do this, it explores how these factors are imperative to explaining the absence of domestic and international terrorism narratives for Trinidad and Tobago and how they fill gaps left by securitisation theories.

The case study highlights how poorly securitisation theory is suited in its current form to account for the complexity of the colonial legacy on the security culture of Trinidad and Tobago, which in turn extends into the absentee narrative. Colonial legacies are common – and they continue to play significant roles in the security issues which formerly colonised territories face. Indeed, historian Martin Wiener (2013, 1–3) argues that the term now has highly negative connotations, with the many of the problems faced by 'new' states today being ascribed to this legacy including social, political and economic instability, corruption, and violence. While there are slight variations in the count depending on perspective, only about 15 countries of today's non-European world escaped colonisation in the 15th to 19th centuries (Ringmar 2019, 195–96). That our current perspectives on security are limited in their ability to take into account the realities of the vast majority of the world in this way is problematic for a discipline which considers itself to be international.

Given the position which this work takes on the importance of history, culture and identity, this introduction shall now give a brief overview of the way in which these factors have been received in the discipline of International Relations, in order to contextualise the discussions in the following chapters.

History in International Relations

The second of the Great Debates in International Relations, which took place in the 1960s, was concerned with the merits of scientific versus historical methods for analyses of the international political landscape. This manifested through differences in perspective between traditionalists and behaviourists, though both sides agreed that empiricism and positivism would characterise an IR based on scientific inquiry. An interpretivist historicist approach was by contrast non-scientific (Curtis and Koivisto 2010, 433; Wendt 1998, 102). During this debate, the dominance of the American contribution to the field came to the fore as a product of the behaviourist revolution in the social sciences taking place there and the influence of the scholars of the Vienna Circle who had emigrated to the US during World War II (Curtis and Koivisto 2010, 435–40).

This supposed incommensurability between history and science in International Relations can be traced back to the Enlightenment in Europe. The early positivists of the 'Age of Reason' sought *the unity of science* – a single scientific method which would allow scientists to uncover the truths of both the natural and social worlds. Thinkers such as Auguste Comte and Henri de Saint-Simon were early proponents of this thinking. They believed that society and by extension, history, could be studied scientifically as humans are an extension of the natural world , whose actions could be determined in relation to their material interests. Just as Newtonian mechanics had allowed human reason to uncover knowledge of the physical world, so too could it work for the social world as there would be no distinction between the methods applied to each (Curtis and Koivisto 2010, 438; Ferraz, Alfonso-Goldfarb, and Waisse 2018, 110–12).

Unlike Comte and de Saint-Simon, Descartes did not endorse a unity of science. Contrastingly, he held history in deep contempt as being incapable of the type of scientific systemisation that would produce objective knowledge (Berlin 1960, 1–2; Navon 2001, 615–16). It was this Cartesian disdain which early positivists attempted and ultimately failed to overcome. Thusly, Cartesian condemnation of history has become embedded in IR through the work of behaviourists and later rational choice theorists who were inspired by behaviouralism. The scientific foundations of IR then can be seen as drawn from empiricism and manifested in positivist methodology (Curtis and Koivisto 2010, 439–40; Smith 2011, 4).

Neo-positivism is well represented in International Relations – particularly within the realist and liberalist paradigms (Lebow 2011, 1219; Lake 2013, 570). Its assumptions include universalism, objectivity, one-to-one correspondence and ontological determinism. These assumptions and their link to Newton and Descartes (P. T. Jackson 2011, 6) are explored in Chapter 2 of this work. Indeed, Jonathan Joseph and Colin Wight (2010, 2) claim that positivism in IR is the standard around which the mainstream converges, such that a corresponding criticism has repeatedly emerged in the literature. A number of authors (Lebow 2011, 1219; Wendt 1998, 102; P. T. Jackson 2011, 9) argue that this look towards science has been rhetorical more than practical and linked to usurping the legitimising power of science to accredit certain perspectives while marginalising others – a perspective which holds with the spirit of this work although remaining outwith its possible scope.

The resulting disciplinary divide between science and history has reified the dichotomising of these approaches and persevered for half a century, continuing into the debate between

positivists and post-positivists which emerged in the 1980s (Wendt 1998, 101; Joseph and Wight 2010, 1; Lake 2013, 570). Resultantly, alongside the contemporary predominance of positivism-informed perspectives in IR, there continues to be a parallel tradition of theorising in IR such that perspectives have emerged which are fundamentally tied to history – for example the English School, Social Constructivism and World Systems Theory (Glencross 2010, 2; Koliopoulos 2010, 13–16). Even if not given a central role in the mainstream of the discipline, history nevertheless does feature in the study of International Relations.

Culture and Identity in International Relations

The concepts of culture and identity have also experienced their fair share of disregard in the field of International Relations. Morten Valbjørn (2008, 57–58) articulates various challenges which culture has faced in International Relations which can be linked back to commitments to 'science'. He argues that, initially, culture was informed by Enlightenment thinking, whereby a single culture was expected to emerge as a result of progress. Cultural diversity was therefore taken to be superficial, receding and unimportant. This, he cites as being a feature of early liberal thinking on cosmopolitanism in IR. Furthermore, Valbjørn speaks to the role of power in realism as also washing culture out of IR. Along this line of thinking, under the conditions of anarchy, 'power trumps everything, also culture(s)' (Valbjørn 2008, 58). Supported by Avruch (1998, 42), Valbjørn explains the realist perspective that in a system characterised by self-help, all states will

fundamentally act in terms of their security interests such that power shall always trump culture, which is rendered irrelevant.

Finally, and most directly linked to the preceding discussion, Valbjørn (2008, 58) presents the epistemologically-based argument that culture is non-scientific and therefore not an ontological concern of a discipline endeavouring towards the standards of 'science'. Indeed, Rengger (1992, 85) notes that culture characterises everything that committed positivist specialists in IR are conditioned to detest. Harshe (2006, 3945) endorses and elaborates this, citing culture's unquantifiable character as the reason for this distaste. Overall, Valbjørn (2008, 59) asserts that the commonality between these seemingly different explanations for the way that culture has been treated in IR is the concept of universality. He claims that each of these ultimately return to universality claims inherent in mainstream thinking such that cultural diversity is always marginalised based on the notion that international relations behave according to some form of universal logic. IR has in this sense become 'a discipline which speaks partially, but which has assumed and declared universally' (Chan 2001, 59).

The so-called 'Cultural Turn' within the discipline of International Relations allowed for the magnification of peripheral calls for due consideration to be given to culture. This has been reflected in the proliferation of attention being paid to the concept in contemporary scholarship (Hudson and Sampson III 1999, 667). It has not however been an easy transition for a discipline which has been culture-blind for most of its existence. Indeed as Valbjørn (2008 , 59-65) explains, the discipline has been blind not only to diversity but also to its own bounded, parochial perspective. Consequently, it has been a challenge for scholars to understand *how* to move

towards a less culture-blind discipline, keeping in mind exoticism and 'othering' as they attempt to do so (Hudson and Sampson III 1999, 668; P. Jackson 2008, 156).

The mere inclusion of culture in the discipline does not necessarily lead to a better understanding of those cultures and how they relate to international relations. A prime example of this is Samuel Huntington's *Clash of Civilisations* (1993) which was directly influenced by the writings of well-known Orientalist, Bernard Lewis. Not only did Huntington reproduce problematic orientalist views, but in doing so , he also presented an entire region as a static monolith. His work highlights both othering and a lack of understanding of culture, which has been problematised within post- and decolonial perspectives (Said 1998, 4; Hudson and Sampson III 1999, 668). Christian Reus-Smit (2019) argues that even today, IR does not understand culture and that the discredited view of culture is still the default conception across rival schools of the discipline. This he argues, renders the discipline yet unable to address culture despite its presence everywhere in global politics.

Identity became a factor of renewed interest in International Relations at the end of the Cold War. It has therefore only comparatively recently made its way into the lexicon of the discipline's theorists as an analytical category (Goff and Dunn 2004, 1; Wilmer 1997, 3). Neo-realists and neo-liberalists alike treat it as they do culture- as prior to their main issues of concern and subjugated by issues of power. Identity therefore remains less utilised than in other fields such as sociology and psychology, and where it has been included in IR it has been deeply scrutinised (Harshe 2006, 3949–50). Much like culture, identity has found no consensus on a definition, precisely how it matters or what is the best way for it to be studied (P. T. Jackson 2004, 169–70).

Identity also shares with culture the tendency for scholars in IR to engage in what Reus-Smit (2019) describes to be an antiquated anthropological approach which was abandoned within that field in the early 20th Century but which lingers in International Relations – essentialism. Essentialism refers to the narrow reductionist approach whereby culture and or identity are taken as bounded and immutable as opposed to contested, relational and in a state of flux. Goff and Dunn (2004, 3) elaborate this, explaining that for this reason, some scholars insert a caveat into their work which articulates their more sophisticated starting point in an effort to avoid falling into the essentialist trap. Indeed, this work does the same in Chapter 6 where it considers the political consequences of one particular entanglement of culture and identity in Trinidad.

Linking identity to history and politics, Harshe (2006, 3949) also notes that racial identity has played a significant role in the conduct of international relations, by virtue of imperialism, yet it remains conspicuously marginalised in the discipline. Indeed, out of Enlightenment science also came scientific racism, which was employed as part of colonial foreign policy for centuries. The legacy of the colonial racial imaginary continues to affect post-colonial politics and the fact that approaches which address this remain on the periphery of the discipline, points to its continuing Eurocentrism (Hira 2015, 138–39; Grosfoguel 2002, 211–13). Harshe (2006, 3950) argues that even Manichaean binaries - which feature in Chapter 3 of this work - are based on classical scientific notions of causality, such that racial identity is fundamentally entwined with the same science which informs the discipline's privileged positions. Indeed, it is the same notion of universality which securely installed culture and identity into international relations in practice, that subsequently washed them out of the study of that practice.

Rendering culture and identity invisible in mainstream theorising, while they remain alive and well in practice, has preserved the Eurocentric status quo in the discipline of IR, while impoverishing analyses. This as well, has filtered into theorising security where certain commitments to the mainstream discipline remain. This too shall be explored in this work – particularly in chapters 4 and 5 which examine the effects of coloniality on cultural identity and domestic politics in Trinidad and Tobago.

While the above focuses on the challenges which history, culture and identity have faced as they have been reintroduced into the discipline of IR, this does not mean to suggest that scholarship including these factors has not persevered and added meaningfully to the study of international politics. Alexander Wendt's theory of social constructivism might be considered canon in this regard, encompassing ideas on both culture and identity. Wendt's theory presented anarchy from a different, socially constructed perspective where it would be what states make of it (Wendt 1992, 391–97). For Wendt, identity, a product of intersubjectivity and shared culture informs interests and by extension plays a significant role in international interactions (Wendt 1994, 384).

Feminists too engage with notions of in socially constructed world. In particular, standpoint and post-structural feminists' concern with the way in which gender as an identity is socially (therefore culturally) and performatively constituted has made important contributions to the discipline in general and to security in particular, as shall be elaborated in the following chapter (Shepherd 2010, 5–8; Hansen 2010, 18). Christine Sylvester (2002, 3) characterises Cynthia Enloe's work as a call to looking for the diversity of people and places and everyday activities that

make the world go around and facilitate international politics. Kimberle Crenshaw's work on intersectionality advocates that in so doing, we do not conflate or ignore intra-group differences, but rather, look at the way in which differences interact to shape different experiences of oppression and marginalisation (Crenshaw 1991, 1243–45). Crenshaw effectively invites greater consideration of amongst other things the way that race and class impact these experiences, which necessarily requires consideration of historical circumstances.

Post-colonial scholars often find allies in their feminist counterparts as to them, race, gender and culture are seen as three of the most impactful, yet often invisible social forces in our lives (Persaud and Sajed 2018, 3; Bhabha 1994, 236). Post-colonialism pays close attention to the intersections between these social forces recognising culture and related notions of history, identity and representation as being a site for the tensions between oppressors and oppressed (Loomba 2015, 58; Bhabha 1994, 1–2). Indeed, Edward Said describes culture as 'a sort of theatre where various political and ideological causes engage one another' (Said 1994, xiii).

It is through recognition of the central role which post-colonial and decolonial approaches have assigned to these factors that this work seeks to explore them through the lens of securitisation theory in considering the case study of Trinidad and Tobago. It does so with the added recognition that they are, especially in the case of the Caribbean and the colonisation of the 'New World', inextricably linked to what Walter Mignolo (2011, xi–xxiii) refers to as 'The Economy of Accumulation'. This includes the material exploitation of land, wealth and black and brown bodies from and trafficked to the lands which were colonised (Loomba 2015, 21; Persaud and Sajed 2018, 3). A work such as this one then, which takes a definitively Caribbean perspective on

decoloniality, recognises that that the material and the ideational remain fundamentally entangled in any discussion of post-colonial territories. This finds particular relevance in chapters 4 and 5 of this work, but also informs the choice of theory and methodology used to analyse the case of Trinidad and Tobago's absent terrorism narrative.

Methodology

The previous sections of this introduction have established that within the discipline of International Relations, there are limitations to the way in which history and cultural identity factor into our analyses. They recognise that these limitations furthermore extend into the way that security is theorised in the discipline and this is particularly relevant to the utility of these theories to analyses of former colonial territories whose security issues are entangled with these factors. This is illustrated using the case study of Trinidad and Tobago, whose absent terrorism narrative cannot be explained using approaches to theorising security in their present form.

The argument advanced is that there is a need for some means of systematic integration to make the inclusion of factors such has history and cultural identity meaningful in the current theoretical frameworks. Consequently, this work requires methodologies which facilitate this, and in the spirit of disciplinary diversity, ones which do not replicate exclusionary practices. Accordingly, it has adopted ethnography and diffraction as its main methodologies.

Ethnography

Ethnography is a qualitative research methodology which concerns itself with 'social interactions, behaviours and perceptions that occur within groups…and communities' (Reeves, Kuper, and Hodges 2008, a1020), it is therefore well suited to a study which seeks to give culture and identity due consideration. Trinidadian anthropologist Patricia DeFreitas (2007, 51) asserts that Carnival

is the most logical point of entry into Trinidad's culture and so the Trinidad Carnival plays a large role in this work. Considering the effects of the festival on Trinidadian society and by extension its security culture, has been largely an exercise in self-reflexivity based on decades of cultural immersion as a Trinidadian national.

DeFreitas in her study of the Trinidad Carnival speaks to the challenges and value of this type of engagement. She asserts that in being both researcher and masquerader she felt that she was always negotiating a tension between two identities - native and non-native, self and other, viscerally engaged and hyper–alert (DeFreitas 2007, 48). In elaborating and evaluating this approach DeFreitas explains that within the discipline of anthropology, like in IR, indulging in these binaries in identity are inimical to the practice of sound research. It would reduce objectivity and necessarily produce a flawed and biased account. Insofar as researcher and native or outside and inside, were therefore desired dichotomies for objectivity, her identities of Anthropologist-Masquerader and in this case, my Researcher-Trinidadian, are undesirable (DeFreitas 2007, 52–53).

DeFreitas (2007, 57) explores the implications of these binaries and concludes that they inherently invoke 'others', which implicitly speak to power relations – those of outside-inside and core-periphery. The study of native cultures for the anthropologist, she argues, always takes on the character of outside-inside-outside again. The researcher goes into the field from the outside, quite often from a developed country or institution within the core, undertakes their research inside or within the community and then removes themselves once more to the outside where

that research is processed, analysed and interpreted in a vacuum which validates its objective status and academic worth.

DeFreitas rejects these conventions and the implication that they necessarily more a productive, desirable and objective practice. Instead, she recognises that perspectives are all situated. The outside view is equally laden with its own biases and understandings which are imposed upon the research when it is taken outside of the research context, yet it is still considered to be of a higher value than the indigenous interpretation. She contends that it is especially important to understand the post-colonial Trinidadian context from the native view, such that the native researcher has a privileged perspective in this regard (DeFreitas 2007, 58–60).

This research has taken as its initial position that the external view, which lines up with Eurocentric, science-oriented IR, provides only limited answers to the questions posed in this work. It has argued that the marginalisation of history, culture and identity within the discipline are also the product of Eurocentrism, but that they are key considerations nevertheless. Eurocentric views on these concepts deny regional and native scholars the epistemological opportunities historically afforded to the mainstream perspectives, therefore creating the dichotomies which DeFreitas has described. This work therefore aligns itself with DeFreitas' position on the validity of the native experience and the value which it adds to analyses. A negotiation of identities between researcher and native and home and abroad are consequently seen not as subversive to the discipline of IR and detrimental to the quality of the study of international relations, but rather in service to it.

For this research, DeFreitas' description of the outside-inside-outside dynamic is inverted to inside-outside-inside. It begins both physically and mentally from the inside and the insights that come with being Trinidadian. Fieldwork, even, is a journey inside to my epistemological and geographic starting point. Having had the most advanced aspects of my scholarship provided in Scotland, my experience of IR is then taken outside by virtue of spatial relocation and an institution where mainstream perspectives are more common than in Trinidad, where they are the exception. Ultimately however, the journey turns inwards once more for this work. It is not the researcher but the Trinidadian researcher that is able to access the context, nuance and insight which only indigenous thought can provide and which will enable more informed analyses.

Social Media Ethnography

Social media is described as having provided novel sites for ethnographic study. It concerns itself with the content generated by users on various digital platforms and is becoming increasingly popular for diverse fields of study ranging from healthcare to business and politics. The flexibility of Ethnography has made it amenable to adaptation for the regularly shifting needs of the digital environment (Caliandro 2017, 1). Within the broader scope of digital ethnography, social media ethnography is considered to be particularly insightful in that scholars have convincingly argued that the online has become so naturalised into the everyday that it is no longer meaningful to distinguish between the two (Dalsgaard 2016, 97; Caliandro 2017, 3). The work of Christine Hine

has been identified as being integral in this regard as she elaborates virtual ethnography as a means for bridging the online and offline realms. Hine argues that the internet is used to empower and enact social identities and bonds (Hine 2000, 6–9) and for this reason it is particularly well suited to this work.

Researchers additionally highlight that social media ethnography is a particularly useful tool for navigating instances where opportunities for in-person fieldwork are limited as social media analysis creates the opportunity for capturing naturally occurring interactions in near and real time, such that the researcher is given access to unmediated dynamics, sentiments, tensions and topics being communicated by platform users (Edwards et al. 2013, 239; Dalsgaard 2016, 96). Through the various posts made by platform users, researchers are able to examine patterns and networks which emerge from their interactions (McCay-Peet and Quan-Haase 2017, 13; Hine 2000, 14; Quan-Haase and McCay-Peet 2017, 41). Postill and Pink (2012, 124) posit that 'uses of social media can also be interwoven with the qualities, political structures and histories of localities or regions.' Indeed, this appears to be particularly true for Trinidad and Tobago and it is exactly this quality which has made virtual ethnography useful for this work which is attempting to look at the way in which cultural identities are entangled with the history and political structures of Trinidad and Tobago.

Anthropologist Daniel Miller (2011, 158) conducted ethnographic research of Facebook usage in Trinidad and Tobago and found that while, as expected, a smaller number of individuals use the platform than in the United States or United Kingdom, there is a higher rate of usage in relation to accessibility. In 2016, Trinidad and Tobago was estimated to have an estimated 700,000

Facebook users out of a population of 1.2 million people (Miniwatts Marketing Group 2016). Miller's research further found that Trinidadians had come to appropriate the platform as part of their culture, colloquially renaming it *Fasbook* and *Macobook*. These names incorporate Trinidadian terms 'fas' and 'maco' which are typically associated with minding someone else's business and the culture of bacchanal linked to the Trinidad Carnival (Miller 2011, 159).

Miller's respondents additionally indicated that Facebook participation was considered akin to 'liming' – a group social activity - and that it is a place where 'true identities' are exposed (Miller 2011, 49–50). Facebook then provides an ideal site for observing the public performance of the aspect of the Trinidadian identity with which this work concerns itself – and one in which Trinidadians *expect* to be observed. For these reason, Facebook was chosen as a data collection site which would give access to a wide range of demographics which would allow for an examination of the patterns which emerge from social interactions.

Ethical considerations for digital ethnography in general and social media ethnography in particular pose something of a quagmire to navigate. This section considers them first in terms of the legal frameworks of the relevant states/region, outlining the positions of the United Sates, Trinidad and Tobago as well as the European Union. It then proceeds to consider the discussions of academic research ethics in the literature surrounding digital and social media ethnography.

In the United States, where Facebook is based, the law does not protect information shared on social media from dissemination and receives no reasonable expectation of privacy (Mund 2018, 239–40). In the wake of the Cambridge Analytica Scandal, where the data of more than 87 million users was misused (Isaak and Hanna 2018, 56), Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg asserts that the

platform is committed to privacy despite its commoditisation of personal data (Winder 2019). As a result the company has tightened and streamlined its privacy policy in cooperation with the UA Federal Trade Commission, aiming to set an industry standard, such that their accountability to the public is now greater than required by US law (Stretch 2019).

In Trinidad and Tobago, where the research is based, neither the Data Protection Act of 2011 - which is only partially enacted into law with no timeline for completion (DLA Piper 2019, 2) - nor the Cybercrime Bill of 2017 address data collection for research or cover expectation of privacy on social media networks in depth. The Cybercrime Bill of 2017 is the more closely relevant legislation however despite consultation with the University of the West Indies and the University of Trinidad and Tobago which raised issues regarding research, the bill does not address data collection (The Joint Select Committee 2018, 64). The only reference to privacy and expectation of privacy for citizens (outside of court proceedings) within the Cybercrime Bill is Clause 16 which narrowly relates to recording and sharing images of a person's body without their consent and sharing personal information with intent to harm (The Trinidad and Tobago Parliament 2017, 12).

The European Commission commissioned a document entitled *Ethics in Social Science and Humanities* in 2018. Within it, attention was paid to the complexity of social media research and guidelines were offered. Firstly it was reiterated that assessment of risk is key as the ethical responsibility of the research is to minimise harm. If risk is anticipated, then researchers are encouraged to paraphrase data, seek informed consent and consider more traditional research methods (European Commission 2018, 8–9). Further to this, the report encourages researchers to consider that not all publicly accessible data is inherently acceptable for use. In this regard, it

is recommended that consideration is given to the online environment in which the information was shared and whether there is a reasonable expectation of privacy in that context. Examples given to illustrate where privacy might be expected were closed group discussion forums and password protected profiles. It was of course additionally recommended that institutional ethics approval be obtained for all research involving human participants (European Commission 2018, 9–10).

The academic literature on the ethics of social media ethnography varies widely offering even polarised opinions on what best practice might constitute. Lisa Sugiura, Rosemary Wiles and Catherine Pope explored this issue in depth, considering a wide range of resources from academic researchers to professional associations in a variety of different countries. They found that while there was no overall consensus on what constituted the best approach, that most discussions centred on three main themes: informed consent, expectations of privacy and anonymity (Sugiura, Wiles, and Pope 2017, 187–94).

Ideas on informed consent coalesce around the idea that if behaviour is conducted in public domains, it may be observed and researched without consent. It also was deemed acceptable to waive informed consent if the research did not negatively impact the rights and well beings of the subjects and involved (Sugiura, Wiles, and Pope 2017, 186–88; Kitchin 2003, 404–8). This in turn linked up with expectations of privacy, where context was highlighted as being particularly important in assessing whether a domain was considered to be private or not and so whether rights were being negatively impacted (Golder et al. 2017, 9–12; Markham and Buchanan 2012, 7). Some perspectives on this extended into suggesting that depending on the acknowledged

publicity of the venue, the less obligation there would be to protect individual privacy and confidentiality (Ess 2002, 5; Kitchin 2003, 409–10). This too played into discussions of anonymity with Sugiura et al (2017, 194) suggesting that it might be safest to err on the side of caution in removing identifiers, even though given the nature of the internet, this was limited in its utility.

Ethical approval for all research conducted in this work was obtained prior to data collection which included assessing risks to participants. As is common with social media ethnography (Airoldi 2018, 666), data collected from Facebook included statuses, comment threads and internet memes which illustrate the dynamics of the arguments put forward in this work and support claims formulated through the auto-ethnographic aspect of this work. No recruitment, active involvement, influence, manipulation or direction of any kind featured in this data collection which, the European Commission guidelines indicate would have called for informed consent (European Commission 2018, 11). This data is used primarily in Chapters 5 and 6 of this work to illustrate the entanglements between cultural identity and politics.

Keeping in mind expectation of privacy concerns previously outlined, data was collected through the platform's search engine which allows for search terms that generate themed results dated back several years. This search function allows for filtering of results to public posts only – that is to say, posts which users have chosen ***not*** to limit to their private networks, where they would reasonably expect privacy. For users who have set their accounts to private, this requires a deliberate changing of the visibility of the specific post to public. While debates continue as to whether it is necessary to anonymise this type of data, especially given the nature of digital media and digital footprints, the choice was made ultimately to err on the side of caution. Consequently,

identifiers have been blurred out of all of the screenshots collected, making for more onerous exercise if anyone should seek to trace the commentary back to its source.

Further to this, no sensitive data was collected through Facebook by these means but rather reactions to issues of food, inclement weather, television shows and international news reports. The issues were chosen organically on the basis of what was generating conversation amongst platform users. A pattern of behaviour was revealed with regards to the way that the specific iteration of the Trinidadian identity explored in this work, manifested in relation to perceived threats. As Trinidadian society is highly reactionary and this work is premised on the notion of an absent narrative it was not possible to collect a variety of instances discussing terrorism specifically as they did not occur. It was however possible to establish support for the way in which cultural identity acts as an interrupter to securitisation through various examples

Interviews and Ethnographic Questionnaires

One aspect of social media ethnography which this work was unable to employ was the notion of 'following the people' which would entail following the trail of links which would emerge through the observation process to obtain a deeper understanding of the issue (Airoldi 2018, 665–66). This was not possible with regards to exploring the terrorism issue as so few conversations existed and those that did, did not offer for more profound perspectives. As an alternative to 'following the people' the ethnographic questionnaire was a means of *inviting the*

native. It was facilitated via social media (Facebook and Twitter) to take advantage of the depth of social media penetration previously highlighted.

This type of questionnaire, is a qualitative method of data collection that has been growing in the last 15 years even though it is not very common. It speaks to guiding the inquiry with specific questions, as one might in individual semi-structured ethnographic interviews in order to gain the same types of insights into patterns and attitudes of the community being studied in the broader execution of social media ethnography. It is used as other types of qualitative research often are – in conjunction with a theoretical framework for sound analysis (Hammarberg, Kirkman, and de Lacey 2016, 500; Soutrenon 2005, 121). In this work the data was used to explore attitudes regarding governance and terrorism in Trinidad and Tobago in Chapter 4. Although not a part of the social media ethnography, in depth semi-structured interviews were also conducted with a range of actors, including former government officials and journalists – these too were integrated into Chapter 4. Both the ethnographic questionnaires and semi-structured interviews received ethical approval for this work and were conducted with fully informed consent from participants.

Diffraction

Diffraction is an optical metaphor which articulates differences and their potential for creating change (Barad 2007, 72; Haraway 1997, 16). As a methodology, diffraction can be described in

its simplest form as reading oeuvres through one another (van der Tuin 2016). (Re)reading insights from different perspectives through each other enables scholars to explore relations of difference and their implications. This has the potential to illuminate insightful patterns which can only be appreciated if difference is given due consideration (Barad 2007, 71; Kleinmann 2012, 80). A particular beauty of the diffractive method is that it does not consider sameness and difference in opposition - as binaries - but rather as entangled, complementary parts of the same phenomenon (Bozalek and Zembylas 2017, 115). Accordingly, this methodology is fundamental to this work, as it provides a means for systematically introducing history and culture into existing 'science-based' frameworks in a meaningful, complementary way.

Reflection too, can be employed diffractively. It needs not be articulated classically in terms of subject and object but rather, can be described through intra-action which goes a step beyond the inter-action of Bourdieu-inspired reflexive methods. In intra-action the entangled components are mutually dependent so that there is no fixed referent point – no permanent standard against which another is measured or compared (Bozalek and Zembylas 2017, 116). Instead it offers 'a bi-directional approach that adds the results of what happens when each understanding takes a turn at playing the foil' such that there is no privileging of either (Barad 2007, 92). This is the way in which reflection is used in this work – providing an indigenous perspective which is read through securitisation theories to try to see a more whole picture of the case study.

Karen Barad argues that we must reassess positions which rely either explicitly or implicitly on old ideas – not to simply reject them as dated or inapplicable but rather to address them

diffractively – that is to say, to read the old and the new through each other, infusing the best understanding that we currently have with the integral aspects of what we previously had so that a more holistic understanding of the world can be achieved (Barad 2007, 24–25). It is this position that has uniquely informed this work, which employs diffraction at two levels – within and across chapters.

The first of these levels is within individual chapters examining the empirical aspects of the study – Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6 - and entails the application of the theory. As the methodology underlying Agential Realism – one of the theories used heavily within this work - diffraction is used in each chapter to integrate what can be learnt from securitisation with what can be learnt from including the material-discursive aspects of cultural identity and history in our analyses. Through theoretical application, it therefore provides the necessary framework for systematically including these factors. The second level of usage is across chapters as the insights from the political and the cultural are then read through each other, allowing for the first level of insights to inform the second, this usage is more consistent with van der Tuin's (2016) broader description of it as reading works through each other. It is by way of these readings that this work will ultimately answer questions on Trinidad's absent terrorism narrative in the concluding chapter.

This introduction has made the case that it is fair to expect Trinidad and Tobago to have had some sort of terrorism narrative prior to the publicity of Daesh recruitment, however, this was not the case. It has outlined this work's objectives as highlighting the shortcomings of Securitisation Theory, insofar as it is unable to account for this absent narrative. It has further advanced that the limited room for systematically exploring the implications of cultural identity

and history within that theoretical framework can be held accountable for its limitations in being affectively applied to this case study. It consequently suggests that Agential Realism offers a means of meaningful integration that can further the agenda of critical security studies. With that in mind, this work shall now proceed to its first theoretical chapter which examines approaches to theorising securitisation.

Chapter 1

Approaches to Theorising Securitisation

The emergence of Daesh has posed an unconventional but undeniable threat to security not only in the Levant but also to the rest of the globe. The group's desire to build a transnational sharia-based state is reflected in what has been described as its 'strategic multilateralism' and its emergence from both regional and global jihadi efforts (Ibrahimi 2018). It is therefore not surprising that Trinidad and Tobago was amongst the estimated 103 countries from which fighters had been recruited (Cottee 2019, 300). What does however make Trinidad and Tobago a curious case, is that it is a state out of which terrorist elements have emerged (even prior to Daesh recruitment) with relatively little to no corresponding narrative – domestic or international - to address or account for this issue.

Insofar as there has been an absence of narrative, there has been equally little scholarship recognising or seeking to explain this absence. This work attempts to question this absence and in so doing, advance an argument for the systematic inclusion of the notions of history, and cultural identity into securitisation thinking. As the analyses within the empirical chapters that follow shall reveal, securitisation thinking in its current forms cannot, on its own, account for the absent terrorism narrative. The material-ideational entanglements of colonial history and of cultural identity in Trinidad and Tobago play too significant a role in the contemporary security

culture of the nation to be considered in an ad hoc manner, however the limitations of current approaches to securitisation do not allow for this to be revealed.

This chapter shall proceed by outlining securitisation theory as it shall be used in this work. In doing this, it shall address relevant critiques of the theory which highlight its limitations – particularly those which come from feminist and post-colonial scholars whose work is amenable to the argument advanced in this thesis. This work shall additionally seek to highlight where there are gaps in the critiques, or where they would benefit from further follow through. The chapter closes with a consideration of how securitisation theory might be applied to the LAC regions, especially given the theory's limitations and makes the argument that an additional theoretical framework might be of use in overcoming them.

Theorising Securitisation

The idea of securitisation as a process, is one which has been contemplated in academia by a variety of disciplines over time. The particular iteration of the discussion as it features in security studies in the discipline of International Relations, is as it relates specifically to politics and the way in which issues become seen and treated as security threats. It considers questions like what makes something a security issue, what responses might be appropriate for addressing an issue that has been so identified and by extension, what consequences might there be for accepting an issue as a threat and issuing a chosen response (Balzacq, Leonard, and Ruzicka 2015, 496). In its most general form, it can be seen as 'the intersubjective establishment of an existential threat

with a saliency sufficient to have substantial political effects' (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 25). This definition has been elaborated in different and at times divergent ways by scholars, as shall be explored later in this chapter. Despite this however, it has been the prominent approach to security for roughly the last two decades (Balzacq 2011b, xiii).

Extending from the origin story of critical security studies, securitisation is typically told through a chronological unfolding, further delineated by schools of thought. Columba Peoples and Nick Vaughn-Williams explain that one of the ways in which broader critical security studies has been mapped in recent times is through 'temporal mappings with distinctions between different critical approaches indicated via a set of geographical metaphors or "schools" ' (Peoples and Vaughan-Williams 2015, 9). This mapping is attributed to Ole Wæver who found that geographical origin might be a useful delineation by virtue of the groups' differences in aims and modes of analysis. In speaking of this evolution of the concept of security Rowley and Weldes (2012, 513–15) describe this chronology as a story which academics tell themselves and then perpetuate this myth to students. These authors argue that this myth is problematic in security studies as it makes artificially constructed delineations seem natural and incontestable. Peoples and Vaughn-Williams (2015, 6–9) also speak to the misleading nature of this approach and the way that it suggests distinction in areas where continuity does exist, thereby obscuring overlaps in approaches.

Balzacq, Leonard and Ruzicka (2015, 497–99) present a similar argument for the theorising of securitisation, making the case that the story told through 'schools' is as unproductive for securitisation as it is for security studies. They assert that preoccupation with categorising ignores

cross-pollination across 'schools' over time and does not account for scholars whose work falls neatly into no single school or into no school at all. As an alternative to making explanations along evolutionary lines, Balzacq (2005, 178–79) posits that theorising securitisation in IR typically falls broadly into one of two approaches – the speech act approach or the pragmatic approach. Whilst he acknowledges the Copenhagen and Paris Schools, tend to lean in one or the other direction in their approach to theorising securitisation, Balzacq argues that adhering rigidly to a single approach impoverishes security analyses. He opts instead for an integrative approach that keeps previous omissions in mind and gives due consideration to how those exclusions matter. This stance resonates well with the overall spirit of this work for reasons that will become clearer in the Chapter 2.

This chapter takes as its point of departure, an examination of Securitisation Theory as put forward by the Copenhagen School. Following Balzacq's lead, it shall articulate this theory in terms of its commitment to the speech act approach. As it progresses through outlining the theory, it shall highlight its limitations, particularly in terms of silencing, state-centrism, under-theorising of the impact and role of audiences, and the notion of exceptional measures. These limitations shall be elaborated through the insights brought to securitisation thinking by the Paris School-informed pragmatic approach as well as the contributions of other critical perspectives.

The Copenhagen School

The Copenhagen Peace Research Institute (COPRI) has been described as perhaps 'the most established school of critical security studies' and a leader in security studies (Paulauskas 2006, 223; Guzzini and Jung 2004). When COPRI came into being in 1985, it sought to navigate the changing terrain of security studies from a different approach. Guzzini and Jung (2004, 5) describe it as one which sought not to parallel the mainstream, but to influence it without in turn making 'undue concessions' to it. The aim then was to allow for security to be re-analysed, re-developed and then consequently allow for a re-insertion into the typical analyses.

Jef Huysmans acknowledges that Copenhagen has 'produced what is probably the most systematic and continuous exploration of its implications for security studies and policies' (1998, 482). Bill McSweeney - one of the School's strongest critics - has described its work as 'canon and an indispensable reference point for students of security' (1996, 81) while Claudia Aradau describes it as 'a path-breaking alternative to realist and neo-realist understandings of security' (2004, 389). In considering its approach to theorising security, one might consider Copenhagen to reflect the middle ground of constructivism (Paulauskas 2006, 223). This is reflected in the Copenhagen School's stance of security being neither an objective nor a subjective phenomenon - or to draw on Guzzini and Jung once more, an understanding that:

> Security mobilises inter-subjectively shared dispositions of understanding and political action. In other words it needs to be understood as an inter-subjective phenomenon not an objective or subjective one.

(Guzzini and Jung 2004, 5)

Particularly recognised for work along these lines are Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver. Together they are known for their notable collaborative works pertaining to a securitisation theory, which is the basis for the speech act approach to securitisation. Resultantly, an almost *iconic* association has been made between the Copenhagen School and securitisation (Paulauskas 2006, 223; Huysmans 1998, 486). This theory shall be the foundation used for theorising securitisation in this work and the use of the term S*ecuritisation Theory* (ST) shall refer to Buzan and Wæver's theory, unless otherwise stated.

Securitisation Theory

Ole Wæver explains that security in the Post-World War II context came to have a very distinct meaning – 'security is what it does' (Wæver 2004b, 56). This meaning, which he identifies as being at the core of securitisation theory, refers to the 'doing' nature of security that has come to be considered the position of the Copenhagen School (Browning and McDonald 2013, 241; Balzacq, Leonard, and Ruzicka 2015, 8). He expatiates this further, stating that *security is a process* by which a securitising actor identifies a phenomenon which potentially poses an existential threat to or a person/group of persons, thereby endangering their inherent right to survival and thusly justifying the use of extraordinary measures to mitigate these circumstances (Wæver 2004b, 56–57).

This description is a concise summary of the comprehensive three-step securitisation process which is developed in his seminal collaborative work with Barry Buzan and Jaap de Wilde, *Security: A New Framework for Analysis* (1998). In its second chapter the book focuses on the tripartite securitisation process whereby an issue is transformed along a continuum of non-politicised to politicised to securitised (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 23–24). Wæver places great importance on two main concepts in the securitisation process: *existential threat* and *emergency measures*. Existential threats are understood not as an objective universal standard of threat to human existence, but as a subjective one which can only be understood in relation to the individual character of the specific referent object (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 21). This concept shall be explored in more depth in the following section. Emergency measures, an equally important part of the securitisation process, shall be explored later in the discussion.

Existential Threat and the Speech Act

In order for an issue to go beyond the ordinary to become classified as a security issue, the first criteria is that it must be framed as an existential threat to a specific referent object by a securitising actor via a speech act (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 23–26). According to ST, the staging of an issue as an existential threat rests not on the ability of the securitising actor to assess an objective threat and demonstrate its dangerous qualities, but instead on the ability to construct 'a shared understanding of what is to be considered and collectively responded to as a threat' (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 26). Securitisation theory then adopts a constructivist

argument informed by John Austin's theory of speech acts as it is premised on the notion of security as a successful illocutionary (speech) act (Stritzel 2007, 3558; Browning and McDonald 2013, 241).

Austin's speech acts can be seen as comprising 3 types of acts: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. Locution refers to the utterance, illocution refers to the act performed in saying something while perlocution refers to the consequential effects of the speech act upon the receiving audience (Austin 2009, 88–102). In contrast to constative utterances which have the property of either being true or false, performative utterances according to Austin, fall outside of the traditional true-false dichotomy. Furthermore, performative utterances constitute part of undertaking an action which would not be typically described as serving only the purpose of saying something (Austin 2009, 4–5) – that is to say going beyond locution to illocution. In line with his rejection of the true-false binary, Austin further asserts that these performative acts have not 'truth conditions' but 'felicity conditions', which, being met, allow for the success of the act. Conversely, acting outwith these felicitous conditions will result in the performative act being 'unhappy' and ultimately unsuccessful (Austin 2009, 13–15).

Wæver (1995, 55) asserts that the mere act of referring to something as a security issue makes it so, or as concisely put by Claudia Aradau 'issues are securitised by virtue of discursive construction' (2004, 391). We see here, the basic argument that 'saying' security is an illocutionary speech act. This may, but does not necessarily require, an utterance of the word security; the designation of an issue as an existential threat may even be purely by way of

metaphor. Drawing on Austin's work, a securitising speech act is more than merely 'saying or describing something, but the performing of an action' (Stritzel 2007, 361).

The felicity conditions of Austin's theory are reproduced within ST. These success-facilitating conditions are comprised of internal and external factors and are, according to Holger Stritzel (2007, 358), the second central concept upon which securitisation theory rests. Internal conditions refer to those relating to linguistics and grammar, while the external refer to contextual and social conditions. A successful speech act then requires a combination of conditions encompassing both language and society (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 32–33). It is this context of the speech act which deems it self-referential – a notion problematised by critics, as shall be discussed later in this section.

Audiences in Securitisation Theory

Another essential factor to keep in mind in considering the success of a securitising move, is that the designation of an existential threat requiring exceptional measures is not only made, but it is then endorsed by a relevant target audience (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 27–33). This returns to the earlier point that scholars of the Copenhagen School view security not as objective or subjective but, as a matter of inter-subjectivity – '[s]ecuritisation is inter-subjective and socially constructed' (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 31). The securitising actor plays but one role in the success of the securitisation attempt. Their social capital or the privilege of their position in articulating security (external conditions) can have profound implications for its outcome,

however, the responsibility for the success of the attempt is also largely dependent on the target audience of the securitising speech act.

Wæver asserts that the audience is of crucial importance to securitisation theory as audience assent is a key assumption and an integral part of the inter-subjective process. He argues that an issue 'is securitised only if and when the audience accepts it as such', regardless of whether said acceptance relies on consent or coercion (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 25). Whether the proposed referent object of a securitising move is considered legitimate and by extension, whether the exceptional measures proposed to protect it are also seen as worthy of support or at least of toleration, lies in whether the audience is able to accept the protection of the referent object as a shared value. This step in the process, then, is 'part of a discursive, socially constituted, inter-subjective realm' (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 31).

Problematising the Speech Act: Audiences and Silencing

At this juncture, the discussion will momentarily pause from outlining ST, to engage with critiques of the speech act as it relates to audiences and silencing, before it moves on to discuss the relevance of emergency measures to Securitisation Theory.

One aspect of ST which has been problematised by critics is a seeming contradiction within its logic where it claims both for a self-referential illocutionary act, but also an intersubjective perlocutionary act with reference to audience assent. Balzacq (2005, 178) rightly argues that the speech act cannot be both self-referential - depending on felicitous conditions as the

determinant for success and intersubjective - requiring audience assent as the determinant for success, as this creates a tension between illocutionary and perlocutionary aspects of the speech act. Adam Côté (2016, 542) endorses this perspective, arguing that the terminology betrays the contradiction in that a definition which hinges on an act precludes one which is based on a process. Balzacq continues to explain that this is symptomatic of an inherent weakness within ST – the underdevelopment of the concept of the audience, despite its supposed centrality (2005, 178).

Indeed the focus on the self-referential nature of the illocutionary speech act and its associated contingencies, alongside the simultaneous underdevelopment of the audience, seems to point to a reductionist approach within ST (Salter 2008, 322). The insistence upon felicity conditions for the success of the speech act conflates the illocutionary with the perlocutionary, at the expense of a profound consideration of the audience (Balzacq 2005, 177–78). Côté (2016, 543) supports this argument, articulating the audience within the speech act approach to securitisation as 'agents without agency'.

The Copenhagen School does little to help us figure out how to identify the audience despite their dual role as a check against the tyranny of state power as well as legitimising actor for the securitising move (Eroukhmanoff 2017, 106; Balzacq, Leonard, and Ruzicka 2015, 497–98). This under-theorisation of the concept makes it very difficult to gauge the weight of the audience as a factor in the securitisation process. Being able to consider whether there might be multiple audiences for example, would allow for explorations of identity in the social construction of the threat. It would also allow for consideration of how settings might inform who the enabling

audience(s) in securitisation attempt might be and consequently what a successful securitisation might entail (Salter 2008, 322; Vuori 2008, 72).

Alternatively, Balzacq (2005, 178–79) asserts that the audience plays an active role assessing the persuasiveness of the speech act, inclusive of the securitising actor's competencies, not only with respect to linguistic conventions but also in terms of contextual considerations. In his pragmatic approach to securitisation, he argues that contextual considerations are more significant than ST would suggest (2005, 171–72). While the Copenhagen School's ST argues that successful securitisation changes the context in which the securitising move took place – an internalist view of context - Balzacq's externalist approach adds another layer to this. While concurring that security does change context, he also argues that context determines the success of the securitising move insofar as that move must be articulated in terms of some external reality to which the audience can relate, such that the desired perlocutionary effects might be achieved (Balzacq 2005, 179–81). This perspective is well suited to the consideration of the implications of history and cultural identity in the securitising process.

Aside from highlighting the limitations of securitisation theory regarding its consideration of the audience, the speech act has also been problematised in relation to silencing. Requiring a securitising actor to be able to articulate a threat assumes that agency is a given. Drawing on feminist perspectives on the power laden dynamics of ST, this can be seen as excluding the voiceless from ever being able to politicise and or securitise an issue (Hansen 2010, 285; Ciută 2009, 302–3; Guillaume 2018, 477). Sarah Bertrand (2018, 282) approaches the silencing issue in ST through a post-colonial lens, articulating that rather than through racialisation or location, the

silencing problem derives from the speech act itself. Taking an intersectional approach however, this work shall look at the way in which the silencing problem can be found in the interstices of problematising the speech act and the power dynamics of colonial history.

Having now considered the ways in which the speech act has been problematised in ST with respect to the under-theorising of the audience and as well as the silencing problem, this work shall return to elaborating ST, moving forward into a discussion of the feature of emergency measures.

Emergency Measures in Securitisation Theory

The concept of exceptional procedures or emergency measures is a feature of securitisation theory which draws on Carl Schmitt's work on exceptionalism (Browning and McDonald 2013, 241). One of the best known proponents of this notion, Schmitt speaks specifically to state exceptionalism and premises that the rule proves nothing, while the exception proves everything. He articulates that the exception not only proves the rule, but also that the rule is derived from it such that exceptionalism exerts both a philosophical and political primacy over the rules of 'normal' politics (Neal 2010, 57).

Of clear relation to this discussion of securitisation is an aspect of exceptionalism which is developed in Schmitt's 1922 work *Political Theology* and to which Andrew Neal refers as *temporal exception*. This speaks to a situation in which the existence of a state is fundamentally threatened

by a danger which exposes the limitations of orthodox politics and law. Falling beyond the capability of these institutions, Schmitt posits that treating with such existentially threatening situations warrants and legitimises a response which is beyond the law (Neal 2010, 58).

This idea of exceptionalism informs securitisation theory in relation to the notion of the securitising move and is intertwined with the characterising textual feature of securitisation (Stritzel 2007, 360). Invocation of security with the aims of adopting exceptional measures, is the action which takes an issue or threat beyond orthodox political procedures and couches it instead in terms of an exceptional form of, or beyond the scope of regular politics. These emergency measures, then, are accordingly, actions that are 'outside the normal bounds of political procedure' (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 23–24).

Further discussing the success of a securitising move, ST states quite simply that 'a successful securitisation thus has three components (or steps): existential threats, emergency actions and effects on inter-unit relations by breaking free of rules' (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 26). While the effects on inter-unit relations speak to the theory's way of accounting for significance of a threat amongst other security issues and are therefore given some consideration, *intra-unit* relations are given far less attention by Buzan, Wæver and de Wilde (1998, 25–26) – yet another symptom of the under-theorising of the role of the audience within ST.

Problematising Emergency Measures in Securitisation Theory

In discussing the role of emergency measures in ST, Balzacq, Leonard and Ruzicka (2015, 504) problematise the lack of attention to power dynamics, arguing that understanding power relations helps to capture and explain the notion of how securitisation in this school has taken the form of questioning not what security is, but what it does. They point out firstly that securitising actors are quite often political elites and that the securitisation process enables them to reinforce and increase their power by firstly designating an existential threat, and in the context of the successful securitisation, how being granted special privileges to treat with this threat increases their power. They furthermore draw attention to the potential in analysing the pre-existing power configurations that the securitising actor and audience each bring to the interaction and how this in turn is able to preclude or enable processes of securitisation. These authors insightfully conclude that it is necessary to study these power dynamics as 'they shape the distinctive ways of thinking, acting and the subject formation that precedes, accompanies and follows, processes of securitization' (Balzacq, Leonard, and Ruzicka 2015, 509).

The very notion that extreme measures are a necessary part of the securitisation process has been questioned as being over-emphasised within the ST framework. Indeed, Felix Ciută (2009, 312) argues that exceptional measures may be the way that successful securitisation is enacted, however that it is not part of the securitisation process (moving from non-politicised to securitised). Tugba Basaran (2008, 340) meanwhile, has asserted that the actions taken as a result of a successful securitising move can at times be classified even as mundane or routine, if one were to consider them in terms of the bureaucracy of policy making. Other positions still, assert that especially in the context of unconventional security threats, 'exceptional' measures are not necessarily the outcome or even the desired outcome of the securitising move and that these

non-traditional threats have the power to influence the way that security and by extension securitisation is conceptualised (Ciută 2009, 309; Trombetta 2008, 589). Balzacq (2011a, 3) even offers a definition of securitisation which does not specify extreme measures, but rather the immediate undertaking of 'customised policy'. As such, it is questionable to make exceptionality a yardstick in defining securitisation.

The Paris School within which Balzacq's pragmatic approach is situated, takes a distinctly bureaucratic approach to the field which is premised on the notion that there is a very strong link between security studies and security policy such that analysts and theorists have a direct impact on state policy (Paulauskas 2006, 222; Peoples and Vaughan-Williams 2015, 10; Innes 2015, 28; C.A.S.E. Collective 2006, 449). The Paris School is well described by Ole Wæver (2004a, 11) as being 'less oriented to discourse and more to all practices of agencies'. Balzacq, Leonard and Ruzicka (2015, 498) would concur with Wæver on this evaluation as they assert that while various theories of securitisation can be seen as deriving from the analytics of government, they diverge in the approach that they take in their analyses. Whilst the Copenhagen approach focuses on securitisation through speech act, the Paris School can more accurately be characterised by its focus on securitisation through practice (Balzacq, Leonard, and Ruzicka 2015, 517).

The problem with these critiques is that they are premised on the idea of the state as a unitary, rational actor seeking to maximise national interest – an ontological position that is decidedly un-critical. This is problematic insofar as it simply does not hold with the reality of many postcolonial states with fractured democracies characterised by competing interest, or non-democratic contexts where the aim may not be to go beyond the norm, but to create a norm,

construct discipline or reproduce a political order (Vuori 2008, 69–70). While these authors articulate the mundane or routine in terms of government or bureaucracy, there is interesting potential here for considering the measures taken as a result of securitisation in terms of the everyday. Especially taken in conjunction with the way that this intersects with considering unconventional security issues, this finds suitable application in this work as it considers the limitations of securitisation theory in explaining certain cultural aspects of the case study that do not align with bureaucratic administration.

This chapter has thus far outlined the Copenhagen School's speech act approach to theorising securitisation. Whilst doing this, it has highlighted critiques of certain aspects of the theory: the underdevelopment of the audience, the silencing problem, the inattention to power configurations and the necessity of emergency measures. It shall now proceed to consider the pragmatic approach to securitisation, situated within the Paris School, where it shall further address limitations of ST and critiques of those limitations.

Securitisation and this Study

Securitisation theory is known for its primarily European character due to the founding influence of the Copenhagen School, despite Ole Wæver's assertion that most work focusing on securitisation is currently being generated outside of Copenhagen (Wæver 2004a, 13). Despite additional claims that Eurocentrism in ST is less powerful today (Balzacq, Leonard, and Ruzicka 2015, 507), application of securitisation theory still remains a largely, though not exclusively European exercise. Pinar Bilgin discusses the notion of this expanding presence of the theory, asserting that 'there is no obvious reason to expect securitisation theory to have a significant presence outside of Western Europe' (Bilgin 2011, 399) and supports this assertion with three points.

Firstly, she asserts that one must consider the primacy of realism-informed, state-centric approaches in international relations, particularly as it relates to issues such as security, power and national interest. She argues that Copenhagen School diverges notably from these types of approaches, as a social constructivist approach is privileged in ST despite realist influence. Secondly, Bilgin (2011, 400–401) characterises the work of peripheral scholars as tending to be theoretically impoverished, relying instead on the unsystematic usage of an amalgam of arguments drawing on international history, area studies and international law amongst other subjects. Finally, acknowledgement is made of the Eurocentric origins of the approach and the inherent ethnocentrism which might make it less appealing to a global audience beyond Europe and North America.

In the face of this unlikelihood however, securitisation theory has made surprising strides in application amongst peripheral scholars and Bilgin provides an impressive list of works to illustrate this. With the exception of Turkey, the entire list is made up of studies of Asian and South Asian origin (Bilgin 2011, 401). Latin America – a region often merged with the Caribbean (hereafter referred to as the LAC regions to reflect this merge) – is meanwhile described as experiencing a dearth of theory-informed work. Tickner and Herz (2012, 93) who acknowledge this geographic conflation in their work, describe Latin American security studies as being of a 'non-theoretical and descriptive nature' (2012, 107) and assert that:

> even when scholars set out to explore security 'concepts' and 'theories', what emerges in their stead are descriptive reflections on Latin American security dynamics and prescriptive recommendations.
>
> (Tickner and Herz 2012, 93)

This position seems to be incredibly lacking in perspective and begs the discussion of a field which needs to be decolonised. Robert Cox stated in 1981 that 'theory is always for someone and some purpose' (1981, 128). He explains that all theories are perspective driven and are informed by a political and social position in time and space. Furthermore he asserts that 'social and political theory is always history-bound at its origin since it is always traceable to an historically conditioned awareness of certain problems and issues' (1981, 128). Almost four decades later however, there still seems to be difficulty in appreciating this simple idea that context matters and that scholars in the developing world are entitled to begin with ***their*** historical experiences.

Following from this line of decolonial thinking on the geopolitics of knowledge, Ramon Grosfoguel (2002, 210) adds that 'the global hegemonic colonial culture involves an intricate and uneven set of narratives with long histories that are re-enacted in the present through complex mediations'. The criticism of the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) regions as put forward by Bilgin, Tickner and Herz is a demand for the developing world to see itself through the European eyes which dominate the field in order for their perspective and their ways of knowing to be considered legitimate – to re-enact Eurocentrism. This is a reflection of the 'implicit assumption that Western analytical concepts are both universally acceptable and unquestionably valid' (Puchala 1997, 129). It is further, one which seems to ignore the fact that 'by far the most prominent and indeed the most powerful theme in Non-Western narrative today is emancipation' (Puchala 1997, 131) and that for the LAC regions, this is inextricably linked not only to history, culture and identity but also to remedy of history's colonial ills. The criticisms of provincial scholarship are therefore embedded in the hegemonic colonial narratives to which Grosfoguel refers.

Speaking specifically to theoretical approaches to security, Wæver (2004a, 25) advances that Latin America finds itself hesitant to proceed without caution in embracing theory which might widen the concept of security. This, given the region's consciousness about the legacy of security rhetoric and repression in those states. He argues nonetheless that the Copenhagen School's approach to securitisation especially vis-a-vis de-securitisation makes it one which should be attractive to that region's scholars. Very little appears to have been said though on the Caribbean region specifically as regards use of theory in security studies, though this is likely related to the

fact that - as mentioned in the introductory chapter of this work – security as a whole is a much neglected academic field in the Caribbean.

Nevertheless, one of the most recognised names in the limited field of Caribbean security scholarship is Ivelaw Griffith who speaks very intuitively on the topic of theory and Caribbean academic culture. He acknowledges the privileging of realism in security studies as well as the turn towards 'unconventional (critical) lenses' through which to view security in the Post-Cold War context. He continues to explain however, that this conceptual adaptation 'has not been as striking for Caribbean security scholars, as non-conventionality has long been the convention' (2004, 3). It is in the spirit of Griffith's words that this work shall seek to apply its chosen theories.

This work engages strongly with Securitisation Theory in trying to account for Trinidad and Tobago's absent terrorism narrative. It does so in shameless conjunction with a strong engagement with historical and contemporary social contexts and contingent material considerations. This approach invokes Walter Mignolo's decolonial challenge, questioning 'what are the connections between your body, bio-graphically and geo-historically, located in the colonial matrix of power and the issues you investigate?' (Mignolo 2011, xxiv). Postcolonial scholar, Edward Said's travelling theory is useful in reconciling these ideas.

Said posits that there are stages through which a theory travels. The first of these stages speaks to the origins of the theory and the context in which it was formulated. The second concerns itself with the spatial and temporal travels of that theory such that it comes to prominence in a different context from its origins. The third stage in Said's theory considers the acceptance or resistance which that theory may face in its new context and the conditions which facilitate this.

The final stage however, is that which is most relevant to this discussion. Said asserts that in this stage:

> The now full (or partly) accommodated (or incorporated) idea is to some extent transformed by its new uses, its new position, in a new time and place
>
> (Said 1983, 226)

In as far as the European political reality informed the development of securitisation theory in the genesis of its travels, so too shall the post-colonial political reality of Trinidad and Tobago inform its application in the context of this work and contribute to the evolution of that theory in its fourth stage of Said's model. While the European history may have become naturalised and implicit in the theories being applied in this work, the Trinidadian history will be bold and unapologetically so in the analyses to come. As the following chapter shall elaborate, Agential Realism facilitates this, by allowing for the both the material and ideational aspects of the colonial experience to be brought to bear on the ensuing analyses.

The Copenhagen School's Securitisation Theory is one with tremendous analytical power, making its mark on the landscape of security studies. This has not however granted it immunity from criticism nor is it an approach without limitations. A number of those limitations have been outlined in this chapter: silencing, state-centrism, under-theorising of the impact and role of audiences, and the notion of exceptional measures. Indeed, one might argue that with the existing gaps in the theory 'securitisation hides more than it helps us see' (Aradau 2018, 300). Nevertheless, this work argues that securitisation theory can benefit from an approach which will

allow for the systematic integration of missing or invisible factors – one which is deeply committed to the notion that exclusions matter. For this, Karen Barad's Agential Realism is particularly useful. The following chapter shall outline Agential Realism and highlight the ways in which it can be complementary to securitisation theory whilst also being particularly amenable to a decolonial agenda.

Chapter 2

Agential Realism

Trinidad and Tobago is a state with a growing security problem as far as terrorism is concerned. Nevertheless, until quite recently, a terrorism narrative for the state has been absent. As discussed in the previous chapter, the various approaches to theorising securitisation are able to provide limited insights into this phenomenon as a result of current gaps in securitisation thinking. These gaps do not facilitate the meaningful integration of concepts like history and cultural identity, which are key factors in this case study. Consequently, this work argues that a framework is required which will allow for the systematic integration of these considerations into the existing thinking on securitisation. To integrate the discussion of exclusions into the analysis in a way that does not dispense with, but rather facilitates inclusion of the critical approaches, Karen Barad's Agential Realism shall be employed.

This theory, which falls under the general umbrella of New Materialisms, provides much to this work by way of its quantum thinking. This chapter shall proceed to elaborate this by focusing on three contributions which underpin this work: the equal consideration given to both the material and the ideational, diffraction, and as an extension of diffraction - hauntology. It will begin first by contextualising Agential Realism within New Materialisms in order to lay the ground for a discussion of how colonial history and in the Americas is one which finds the material and the ideational to be fundamentally entwined, such that this key to fully appreciating aspects of the

case study. It shall next delve briefly into the science behind the theory to discuss diffraction, as it is within the science that one sees how well suited this theory is for finding gaps, or 'seeing absence' as well as for integrating multiple perspectives. Finally it shall pay particular attention to the notion of hauntology, which plays a considerable role in this work.

Quantum Thinking

At times referred to as *neo-materialism* (Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012c, 19), the term New Materialisms was coined in the late 1990s by two of the scholars still most closely associated with it – Rosi Braidotti and Manuel DeLanda (Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012, 48). It is an umbrella term for the emerging theoretical approaches which seek to give matter due consideration in how we make sense of the world. Coole and Frost explain the novelty of the term by acknowledging the traditional materialist heritage of the perspective, while also demonstrating how it addresses contemporary matters which are unprecedented and thus novel for the application of materialist approaches (Coole and Frost 2010, 4–5). This is according to Braidotti, one of the most important traits that contemporary materialism should possess (Dolphijn and van der Tuin 2012c, 20).

While calls for a quantum social science are not at all new – reaching as far back as a century ago - it is only within the last thirty years that an actual shift in that direction has become visible for the study of politics. In the early 1990s Theodore Becker's *Quantum Politics* was published, which offered a range of different suggestions for quantising political issues, though none of them

appear to have become prominent (Tesař 2015, 492; Wendt 2015, 4). Bühlmann, Colman and van der Tuin (Bühlmann, Colman, and van der Tuin 2017, 47–49) in their examination of the genealogy of New Materialisms, however, advance that one of its most important influences has also been the development and consideration of quantum thinking in the 20th Century.

By understanding quantum thinking, Bühlmann et al (2017, 49–56) claim that we are able to achieve a state of *quantum literacy.* They describe this type of literacy as a cognitive faculty which allows us to express processes through quantum thinking. In so doing, former binaries established by classical thinking are dissolved as we dispense with previous givens and embrace a spectrum of possibilities. This literacy rejects identifying with any single truth, but rather concerns itself with pushing limits and sees transgressing on the formulaic as natural and necessary.

In her discussion of post-colonialism and security, Pinar Bilgin (2017, 5–6) invokes Edward Said's notion of 'contrapuntal awareness' to speak to the way in which students of critical security studies could benefit from a multiplicity of perspectives in order to best rethink the limits and possibilities of theorising. Post-colonialism and quantum thinking can already be seen as allies in this regard, particularly in the context of this work which can be seen as transgressing on the formulaic nature of Securitisation Theory.

Diffraction

Diffraction is a very meaningful concept in this work. Not only does it provide a methodology extensively utilised throughout, as outlined in the Introductory chapter, but it also has a greater significance, for any critical scholar who is concerned with matters of exclusion – it allows us to understand how to see absence. In order to appreciate this special quality, it is necessary to engage briefly with the science behind Agential Realism – quantum physics. This section shall now contextualise diffraction in terms of particle-wave duality and the Two-Slit Experiment in order to explain this seeming paradox.

Particle-Wave Duality

Much of physics has concerned itself with the behaviour of light. Light was understood since the 18th century as being characterised by its behaviour as a wave (Plotnitsky 2010, 161:46). This assumption had been well supported with the results of repeated experiments, however in the early 20th century the work of Arthur Compton found that light also showed the characteristics of particle-like behaviour (Nadeau and Kafatos 2001, 34). This was particularly problematic as waves and particles have very distinct properties - waves are continuous, spread out over space and time and are understood as extended, while particles are on the other hand, akin to a point - localised in space and time (Barad 2007, 100). How then could light exhibit the properties of both a wave and a particle? How might it be simultaneously local and extended? The answer to these questions is where this chapter's journey to the concept of diffraction begins.

Physicists committed themselves to researching the unusual behaviour of light and came to conclusions that were no less perplexing. In 1924, de Broglie, in light of Compton's discovery, conjectured that like light, matter ***also*** exhibited both wave and particle-like behaviour or *wave-particle duality* – something he had believed even prior to Compton's experiment (Kumar 2009, 146). Erwin Schrodinger, engaged with de Broglie's work and in turn, developed a description of 'matter-waves' through a mathematical wave function which *assumed their reality* (Nadeau and Kafatos 2001, 34). Through the work of Schrodinger and William Hamilton (whose equations informed Schrodinger's function) these waves can be plotted graphically, creating a visual depiction of an un-observable entity. Schrodinger's wave function, therefore mathematically allowed for scientists to have some limited knowledge about the location of a particle – the probability of finding that particle in a particular region and in a particular state.

In 1936, however, a year after Schrodinger's development, Max Born recognised that in the classical sense, the wave function was not 'real' in so far as it was only based on assumptions of reality. He further asserted that the probability of locating a particle does not allow for precise prediction of the particle's location – an assertion which was poorly received in the scientific community. The reception that Born's position received was due to his definition of probability not being one which fit into the deterministic classical understanding of neatly assessing the overall behaviour of systems. This unobservable wave function was mathematically able to predict the probability of certain events happening, yet it was in practice, experimentally unable to predict the specific event that would happen – which of course does not follow a strict deterministic logic (Nadeau and Kafatos 2001, 34–36; Kumar 2009, 213–19). Einstein himself

thusly described the wave function as a *ghost field* which represented not a 'real' (observable) matter wave but rather a probabilistic reality (Nadeau and Kafatos 2001, 36).

The Two-Slit Experiment

One of the easiest ways to elaborate the wave-particle dualism outlined previously, is through an experiment called the 2-slit experiment. As it is central to Niels Bohr's philosophy physics, understanding it is essential to a reading of Karen Barad's theory of Agential Realism. This experiment began first, as a thought experiment in an extended debate between Einstein and Bohr and its various iterations (and its later actual performances when technology allowed) bring us to a point of understanding the various aspects and dynamics of Barad's approach.

In the previous section, light was described as being a focus within the study of physics and it was explained as exhibiting both particle and wave behaviour. The original double split experiment, done using light was conducted at the start of the 19th century by Thomas Young and was intended to resolve whether light behaved as a particle, or as a wave travelling through some hypothetical medium. In theory, it was believed that the experiment could be conducted using any type of quantum object but in this regard functioned only as a thought experiment until the 1960s when it was first conducted using matter - electrons (Plotnitsky 2010, 161:47).

For the purposes of this chapter an idealised conception of this experiment will consider the behaviour of electrons in showing matter's particle-wave duality, as it is noted for its ability to be

explained qualitatively without reliance on quantum knowledge (Plotnitsky 2010, 161:47). One must visualise the apparatus of this experiment as two screens set up with one directly in front of the other with an electron gun pointed at them. The first screen contains two slits and the second screen serves as a detector which will record a bright spot where an electron impacts it. When the experiment is first conducted, only a single slit on the first screen is open. A beam of electrons is fired and the particles pass through the slit in the first screen and hit the second one. The pattern of bright spots formed on the detector screen shows a concentration of hits directly opposite the slit. This pattern – called a scatter pattern - is characteristic of particle behaviour; consistent with the idea of matter as a particle.

When the experiment is repeated with both slits open however, the results differ. The pattern that appears on the screen is not the expected scatter pattern seen previously, but one of alternating bands of bright spots where there was an impact on the detector screen and darkness where there was not. This second pattern is referred to as an interference pattern and is a product of diffraction (Nadeau and Kafatos 2001, 47).

The Diffraction Pattern

Diffraction is an important concept in this study. It is Barad's method in the theory of Agential Realism which shall be examined later in this chapter, and is applied extensively throughout this work. The method is an analogy for diffraction as it is understood in physics. In scientific terms, diffraction is a wave property. It has to do with the behaviour of waves when they encounter an

obstacle and bend around it (Barad 2007, 74) – in the case of this 2-slit apparatus, the behaviour of waves when they hit the first screen.

In the 2-slit experiment a wave would encounter the screen and then diffractively make its way through the slits by splitting. Once on the other side of the slits, these new multiple waves would continue to propagate their energy forward, overlapping and interfering with each other as they do. There are multiple types of interference taking place in this dynamic - constructive and destructive. Where the waves are superposed such that the trough of one wave coincides with the crest of another, the two cancel each other out – this is destructive interference. The result is no impact on the detector screen for destructive interference; accounting for the dark bands. Where the crests of waves line up, constructive interference takes place, the amplitude of the wave is increased and this registers on the detector screen, resulting in the formation of the bright bands (Barad 2007, 102). This presence of this interference pattern indicates wave-like behaviour and illustrates that matter, like light shows *particle-wave duality* (Nadeau and Kafatos 2001, 19).

It is the patterns of interference however that are of interest to this work – constructive and destructive interference. Constructive interference, where the amplitude of a wave increases maps abundance – where similarities or familiarities accumulate. Destructive interference – where a cancelling out takes place, maps absence. For there to be abundance, there must also be absence, as they are a product of the same phenomenon. Diffraction by definition therefore can be seen as concerned with exclusion and furthermore, with exclusion of which we are

necessarily aware. This can be clarified further through considering the concept of complementarity.

Complementarity

Physicists continued to be perplexed by the outcome of the 2-Slit Experiment as they were simply unable, according to classical physics, to be able to account for the diffraction pattern. Einstein continued his thought experiments with Bohr, positing that if we were to modify the apparatus, placing an observation instrument at the slits - – a *which-slit detector*- one would necessarily capture the particle going through one slit or the other and would therefore be able to observe the particles behaving like waves. Niels Bohr however rebutted that should an observation take place, a scatter pattern rather than an interference pattern would emerge – particles would be seen to be behaving as they should (Kumar 2009, 268–70). When physicists were finally able to conduct this experiment some years later using even larger particles - atoms instead of electrons - their results vindicated Bohr. When observed, the particles ceased to exhibit wave-like behaviour and returned to exhibiting particle-like behaviour – measurement played a fundamental role in determining the nature of the entity being observed. (Barad 2007, 267–68).

This puzzle begs the question of how the particle appears to materialise in one state or the other when it passes through the slit and leaves a corresponding impact on the detector screen. To address this, the concept of complementarity must be explored. For Bohr, entities do not exist with a complete set of properties as assumed in the Newtonian classical understanding, but are

instead ontologically indeterminate. He believed that the 'total' reality of a quantum system is ***both*** wave and particle and that understanding this totality required a logic that departed from the classical understanding that entities were ontologically either wave ***or*** particle. Complementarity was the logical framework which he developed to explain this (Barad 2007).

The logic of complementarity argues that particle and wave are constructs which represent profound oppositions, each of whose existence precludes the other's in a given context. Only one can be applied in a single instance, however both are necessary in order to understand the totality of the situation (Nadeau and Kafatos 2001, 43). Wave and particle are therefore best understood as 'mutually exclusive, yet complementary aspects of the same phenomenon' (Kumar 2009, 242). Similarly, any entity will have a pair of complementary variables – determinate and indeterminate - and there will never be a situation in which all properties will simultaneously have determinate values. Complementarity is therefore closely linked to exclusion.

Complementary variables require mutually exclusive sets of apparatus in order for one or the other to become defined, so it is the specificity of the experimental apparatus that is key here (Barad 2007, 19–20). Measurement for Bohr, facilitates interactions with particular apparatuses that allow certain properties of an entity to become determinate at the exclusion of others. Putting a detector at the slit would result in an interaction between the specific measurement apparatus and the entity being observed, which would produce a determinate ontological outcome of particle-like behaviour.

What we can discern from this exclusionary logic of complementarity is the shape of absence. By looking at the features of what has materialised, and the specificity of the apparatus which has enabled this materialisation, we are also able to get an impression of what is not there. If we are able to see both what is there and what is not, then we become aware of multiple stories, and move towards the contrapuntal awareness that Bilgin (2017, 5–6) endorses for pushing the boundaries of theorising security.

As this chapter moves into a place of seeing things that are not there and discerning shapes in empty spaces it seems only natural to proceed into the section on Hauntology. This section shall start with a brief discussion on time before returning to the science to consider a different type of diffraction and what it allows us to understand about time and by extension, history.

Hauntology

Time is a consistent theme throughout this work as it makes its argument for due consideration of history, identity and culture. Later chapters shall examine time in unconventional ways as they explore the way that these factors have been brought to bear on the present and meaningfully contribute to explaining the absence of a terrorism narrative for Trinidad and Tobago.

Time

A good starting point for this part of the discussion is Walter Benjamin's notion of Homogenous Empty Time. Benjamin's approach to the concept of history derives from a critique of the concept

of progress as seen in the ideology of social democracy, as well as an objection to the naturalistic approach to historicism. Starting with the latter, this refers to Benjamin's philosophical position on the common understanding of history as linear and based on causality such that there is temporal continuity between past, present and future (Osborne and Charles 2015). This approach, steeped in positivism, fails to see history as ongoing, and a product of immanent differentiations, reducing temporal differentiation to the new reproducing the old in a series of structurally similar processes. This notion of time is clock measured – all moments are equivalent and empty – this is Homogenous Empty Time (HET) (Robinson 2013; Taylor 2016, 207).

To add a political layer to this philosophical one, Benjamin sees the consequence of temporal naturalism vis-a-vis progress to be conformism. This is to say that the determinist nature of causality is necessarily conformist and antithetical to progress. Indeed, Benjamin considered this to be the time of capitalism and so Marxism and its dialectic approach was for him tarnished by this mentality of linear progress. For Benjamin then, determinism was demobilising and an obstacle. He asserted that historical materialism was better articulated in terms of interruption rather than of progress – interrupting the vacuous sameness of linearity that characterised historical determinism would be the source of revolution and change (Osborne and Charles 2015; Taylor 2016, 207). Benjamin took as a personal goal the development of a new philosophy of historical time – quantum physics gives us a basis to consider a new philosophy.

Temporal Diffraction

Returning to the science, this section considers another iteration of the 2-slit experiment in order to contextualise the contribution of quantum physics to a new conceptualisation of time. The previously described versions of the experiment have all seen slits which were separated in space – they were both available at the same time but not in the same location and facilitated ***spatial diffraction***. Consider a different configuration of the apparatus. Rather than a stationary screen with 2 slits which an electron beam encounters, there is instead a spinning disc. This disc alternates slits and shutters such that while there are still multiple slits they are no longer all available to the electron beam simultaneously – they are temporally rather than spatially separated, a configuration which facilitates ***temporal diffraction*** (Barad 2017, 66–67).

In such a configuration, the expected outcome is rather like it was when the electrons were shot through a single slit – that they would form a scatter pattern on the recording screen when they passed through an available slit or alternatively bounce off of a shutter and not be recorded at all. On the contrary however, a diffraction pattern emerges. In the previous 2-slit experiment this was articulated in terms of the ontological indeterminacy of the particle, in this case – the diffraction pattern is representative of the ontological indeterminacy of time - it shows different times overlapping and bleeding into each other (Barad 2017, 67–68). In this, lies the opportunity to question the linearity of classical understandings of time, where one moment is complete before another begins.

Other configurations of this experiment, such as the Quantum Eraser Experiment in which the results (particle or wave properties) could be undone ***after the fact*** by merely erasing the measurement, also render strange our understandings of time. That version of the experiment

allows for us to question linear causal configurations where time progresses only in one direction and where one moment is complete before another starts (Barad 2017, 71–73). This notion of temporal discontinuity (Barad 2007, 234) again lends itself to what Benjamin hoped to achieve in terms of understandings of history based on non-linear philosophies.

Reminiscent of Einstein's probabilistic ghost field, Barad argues that the results of these experiments – especially of the Quantum Eraser experiment – can be seen as the past never having been determined in the first place, but always open and yet to come. Returning to the spinning-reel experiment – all versions of the event are superpositioned. The world, for Barad is linked together by woven moments in time - temporal entanglements of past, present and future such that there is no specified point in time in which an event is taking place. Superpositioning in this case is of all possible histories – or space-time configurings - multiple histories entangled with the present and the future – a past that is happening (Barad 2017, 67–69; 2007, 234).

Ghosts in the Field

Jacques Derrida is credited for coining the term Hauntology in his lectures, and consequent book entitled *Specters of Marx*. Derrida argues that the dead are not simply dead and gone, but rather that 'he who has disappeared, appears still to be there and his apparition is not nothing. It does not do nothing' (Derrida 1994, 97). This conceptualisation of haunting immediately troubles conventional understandings of time as moving forward in tiny complete intervals, as Derrida advances that the ghostly displace themselves such that although haunting is necessarily

historical, it is not fixed to a specific moment in time or assigned to a calendar date (Derrida 1994, 4). We are reminded here of Barad's discussion of temporal diffraction – showing the way in which moments in time could be seen as bleeding into each other in the materialisation of our reality. Haunting then, according to Derrida can be seen as occupying this sort of indeterminate time, while having material effects on our world. Absence then can be seen as meaningful.

Derrida speaks to the negative regard in which ghosts are held, continuing to suggest that this is a misplaced hostility (Derrida 1994, 47–48). Instead, he advances that living well is learning to live with and in conversation with ghosts, a practice which he asserts is part of the pursuit of justice in what amounts to 'a politics of memory, of inheritance and of generations' (Derrida 1994, xviii–xix). In order to 'live well' in this way, Derrida (1994, 108) posits that what is required is positive conjuration - that is to say, a conjuring of ghosts which is welcoming and hospitable, as opposed to intending to call them up in order to exorcise them. This is a process which he asserts is necessarily and fundamentally linked to anxiety, as with these specters come their ability to 'charge', 'accuse', 'assign' and indebt' the current generation.

This anxiety, which lays in necessarily having to answer for and account to the dead, Derrida describes as 'properly revolutionary' (1994, 109) in its call to action. The past then is not only present in these overlapping moments and affecting the here and now, but has implications for the future and implications for justice – a perspective with which Barad (2007, 236) concurs.

Furthermore, Derrida asserts that while pondering the name for his lectures, he found himself preoccupied with the way in which hegemony was tied to haunting, insofar as it organises the repression which necessitates the haunting in the first place. He concludes that 'haunting belongs

to the structure of every hegemony' (Derrida 1994, 37) and that the positive conjuration of ghosts is certainly an alliance which lends itself to neutralising hegemony and disrupting or overturning a power structure (Derrida 1994, 48). These ideas can be seen as further elaborated in the work of sociologist Avery Gordon (2008), whose work on Hauntology has been suggested to be as influential as Derrida's on the topic.

Not unlike Derrida, Gordon claims that the presence and impacts of abusive systems of power which are supposedly no more, make themselves known through hauntings. These hauntings, she argues, defamiliarise a situation which allows the invisible to become visible (Gordon 2008, xvi–xvii). To link this back to discussions of diffraction – the familiarity of abundance in constructive interference is disrupted, allowing for those things cancelled out and rendered invisible through destructive interference to make their presence felt. Gordon (2008, xvii) further explains that in a haunting, the social-subjective aspects are neither to be considered epi-phenomenal, nor as disentangled from the political economy of the oppressive situation. This resonates strongly with the LAC decolonial approaches highlighted earlier in this work which centralise the combined social and material experience of colonialism.

Gordon (2008, 12–13) elaborates this further by recognising that these entangled aspects are to be understood in the context of a history which is not over and asserts that writing stories of exclusion and invisibility is writing stories of real ghosts which produce material effects on our world (2008, 17). Indeed, like Derrida, she recognises the radical potential of haunting to create change such that through a history which is 'alive and accessible to encounter' there exists a 'chance in the fight for the oppressed past' (Gordon 2008, 65) and to 'fix and transform a

troubling situation' (Gordon 2008, 22). Agential Realism therefore provides us, a theory which allows for these unconventional understandings of time and the potential change that come with them, to be systematically integrated into theories of securitisation through a diffractive methodology.

Diffraction as Methodology

Barad (2007, 23–24) believes that a rigorous examination, elaboration and extension of Bohr's philosophy-physics provides an excellent foundation for theorising the social and the natural together. The science, she believes, provides us with the ontological and epistemological basis for questioning old ideas or 'givens' not for the purpose of rejecting them on principle, but in order to read our new understandings through our best social and political theories and reassess how we underestimate social phenomena. Barad advocates doing this, by using a diffractive methodology that clarifies their relationship.

As previously outlined, diffraction in physics is related to interference and as a mapping of that interference, it speaks to differences rather than exclusively to sameness, highlighting the potential for identifying absences and being informed by those absences in attempting to create change (Haraway 1997, 16; Barad 2007, 72). Diffractive reading as a methodology allows integral aspects of each oeuvre to emerge and foster constructive and meaningful intersectional discourse. By (re)reading different perspectives through each other, scholars are able to explore

relations of difference and their implications. This has the potential to illuminate insightful patterns which only emerge if difference, which materialises as absence, is given due consideration (Barad 2007, 71; Kleinmann 2012, 80). It therefore enables researchers to better consider the totality of what they are attempting to study rather than only the patterns which appear through relations of similarity or constructive interference.

Recalling from the introduction to this work that diffraction does not consider sameness and difference to be binary opposites, but rather as entangled complementary parts of the same phenomenon (Bozalek and Zembylas 2017, 115), the methodology creates opportunity to theorise old ideas alongside the new in a productive way, focusing on what each theoretical apparatus materialises that the other might exclude in any given phenomenon. This work strongly takes the position that exclusions matter and that there are ethical implications for exclusions, particularly in security issues[1]. In applying theory to the case study diffractively, it will therefore attempt to show how these exclusions matter in our (in)ability to meaningfully answer research questions using only approaches to securitisation which currently form the orthodoxy within critical security studies.

Furthermore, for Barad, it is not merely the diffraction patterns themselves that are of import, but what they represent. As waves are not physical entities, but motion which manifests physically via the medium through which it moves, the interference patterns which waves create, and the differences which those patterns represent, illustrate more than merely the differences themselves, but also the effects of those differences on our material world (Barad 2007, 72).

[1] It is also for this reason that in the previous chapter Balzacq's integrative approach to security was favoured and shall be employed heavily in the chapters that follow.

Giving due consideration to differences then allows us to recognise what effects differences might have on our material world and the consequent realities and experiences of those who are rendered invisible by exclusions.

Phenomena and Intra-action

Taking cues from the ontological lessons of Quantum Physics, Barad (2007, 139) asserts that the world is made up of phenomena such that the phenomenon is ontologically indeterminate and the smallest unit of analysis, as opposed to the classical notion of independent objects with well-defined properties. Following from the lessons of Bohr's philosophy-physics, she describes phenomena as the inseparability of agentially intra-acting components – that is to say that her theory understands the components of a phenomenon as being ontologically entangled and engaged in a type of co-constitutive process (Barad 2007, 77). Furthermore, for Barad, phenomena are more than mere products of deliberate human activity and design, but rather, they are complex interactions involving multiple apparatuses which may not necessarily involve humans at all.

These components of a phenomenon - like the phenomenon itself - are also ontologically indeterminate to begin with – as the assumption is that entities are the sum of all of their possibilities to start, until some form of measurement results in specific properties emerging. Meaningful embodied concepts only emerge from phenomena through an apparatus'

contextually specific configuration intra-acting with an indeterminate 'object'. The entanglement, produces a particular materialisation of a concept. This approach therefore facilitates what Barad calls an onto-epistemology – the entanglement of what we know about the world and how we come to know it. This resonates well with the auto-ethnographic undertones of this work.

Apparatus

As explained previously, in Bohr's work, the configuration of the apparatus is key to which properties of a phenomenon become determinate when measured – that is to say, the material form that an entity takes. As they play such an imperative role in this theory and how it sees the world in its constant state of becoming, it is important to examine the concept of the apparatus in greater detail. The apparatus in Agential Realism is a phenomenon in and of itself, as this is the smallest ontological unit within the theory. The configuration of any apparatus is therefore the outcome of some material-discursive practice where all possible configurations of the apparatus were eventually reduced to one meaningful concept, now imbued with its own material-discursive agency.

Bohr describes apparatuses as 'macroscopical material arrangements through which particular concepts are given definition, to the exclusion of others, and through which particular phenomena with particular determinate physical properties are produced' (Barad 2007, 142). Barad however departs from Bohr insofar as his interpretation of an apparatus seems to be

limited in scope and quite anthropocentric. Instead she argues that beyond the simple notion of a neutral observing instrument, the apparatus is a boundary drawing *practice*. The role that the apparatus plays in the intra-action is not detached and as relatively passive as one might think. Not only do they 'emerge in time, but they iteratively reconfigure spacetimematter as part of the ongoing dynamism of becoming' (Barad 2007, 142). That is to say, the apparatus for Barad has vitality and plays an active role in materialising our world.

In a point of departure from Bohr's approach, Barad takes issue with what she finds to be residual anthropocentrism. She therefore identifies a series of features which define the apparatus within agential realism: that they are material discursive practices as opposed to mere configurations of equipment, that they are themselves productive phenomena - producing differences that matter while themselves being open ended and produced by the phenomena with which they are engaged and that they are not located within the world but rather, are dynamic material configurations of the world which (re)configure spatiality and temporality (Barad 2007, 147).. Each chapter of this work examines the way in which a variety of apparatuses materialise a reality which facilitates Trinidad and Tobago's absent terrorism narrative.

In her engagement with the concept of discourse as it relates to practice, Barad finds it necessary to explore the concept of performativity. She finds that even within popular accounts of performativity however, there remains an anthropocentric bias and therefore has sought to read Butler and Foucault's accounts diffractively through each other in an attempt to come to a version of performativity which more adequately accounts for the relationship between the material and the discursive in her definition of the apparatus (Barad 2007, 145–46).

Realism: Representationalism and Performativity

Barad (2007, 97) takes a non-representationalist position on scientific realism; which is to say that she rejects the ontological belief in the distinction between representations and the represented, wherein the represented is characterised as possessing an independently existing reality, which precedes the representation. Put simply, she rejects the notion of ontological determinacy espoused by classical approaches. Drawing on Rouse, Barad (2007, 48–49) asserts that this duality hearkens back to Descartes. Representation might thereby be seen as a Cartesian by-product, where there exists a division between the internal (representations) and the external (that which is represented) such that the internal is privileged by virtue of the knower's access to their own mind. Barad encourages an abandonment of this Cartesian doubt which questions our access to knowledge about the external world, opting instead for a performative approach.

Performativity questions the dichotomy between representation and represented, focusing instead on the practices which generate representations, the productive effects of those practices and the conditions necessary for them to be effective. For Barad (2007, 135), this focus on doings and actions highlights issues of ontology, materiality and agency. Through this lens of performativity, representationalism is characterised as the residue of a multiplicity of entangled practices of engagement – discursive practice is a key consideration in this regard.

Discourse is not quite simply another word for language, it is rather that which gatekeeps what can be said. Discursive practices therefore have a legitimising capacity in defining what does or

does not count as meaningful. Meaningful statements in this context are not reduced to mere speech acts of a unified subject, rather, both statement and subject emerge from a dynamic and varied field. (Barad 2007, 146–47). Citing Foucault, Barad explains that discursive practices are the 'local sociohistorical material conditions that enable and constrain disciplinary knowledge practices...' and 'produce, rather than merely describe the subjects and objects' (2007, 147) of

Agential realism looks at the way in which these discursive practices are entangled in causal relationships with specific material phenomena (Barad 2007, 139). Linking discourse back to apparatuses, Barad sees apparatuses ***as*** discursive practices. This speaks to their boundary-drawing capacity insofar as they are the material conditions of possibility and impossibility of mattering – their agential cuts enact what matters and what is excluded in their function as a diffraction grating. These agential cuts are what determines which set of variables materialise at the expense of which others (Barad 2007, 148). We can see therefore how agential realism immediately looks to the previously discussed quantum concepts of ontological indeterminacy, complementarity and entanglement.

We are now familiarised with two of the main components of Barad's theory of Agential Realism – the phenomenon and the apparatus and the importance of ontological indeterminacy to each of them. We shall now look further at the dynamic which energises the relationship between these components – intra-action.

Intra-Action

Intra-Action is the central dynamic of this theory, in that it facilitates material reality coming into being. That is to say, that through agential intra-actions 'boundaries and properties of the components of phenomena become determinate and that particular concepts (that is particular material articulations of the world) become meaningful' (Barad 2007, 139). Intra-actions are able to do this by enacting agential cuts (as opposed to orthodox Cartesian cuts) which allow for these concepts to emerge. According to Barad (2007, 139–40), the apparatus – allows for agential cuts to be enacted within the phenomenon and these cuts in turn, allow for ontological indeterminacy to be resolved within the specific context of that phenomenon. Agential cuts then, facilitate the condition of ***exteriority within the phenomenon*** which in turn creates an alternative for the classical ontological condition of objectivity.

What this means is that agential cuts effect *agential separability* between the entangled parts of the process and allow for the single materialisation of a concept which is valid for that specific intra-action. Barad (2007, 394) describes this process as 'a cutting together apart', which refers to a single act (as opposed to sequential ones) that simultaneously entangles and differentiates. Once this agential separability has been achieved, a causal structure is enacted amongst the phenomenon's components. Measurement is therefore seen in this sense, to be a causal intra-action.

This notion of synchronicity rather than linear causality seems counter-intuitive, however recall of Bohr's rebuttal of the EPR paper is useful here. In a rejection of the principle of locality - any effects on particle A instantaneously affect particle B within the same entangled system. This allows for both entanglement and differentiation – both the materialisation of the concept and

the disentanglement from the apparatus – to happen simultaneously. The entanglement ***instantaneously*** (as opposed to consequently) enacts the agential cut which produces the differentiation that separates the pair. By virtue of its focus on entanglement, this dynamic therefore provides grounds for challenging the dominance of traditional understandings of causality, linearity and duality in traditional approaches to International Relations (Barad 2007, 140).

It is imperative to note that this process of differentiation through intra-action, following from the lessons of Bohr's complementarity, necessarily materialises certain properties or features at the exclusion of others. For this reason, one must consider the implications of intra-actions – what is being excluded and how those exclusions matter. Accordingly, Barad (2007, 381) elaborates her onto-epistemology into an ethico-onto-epistemology. This notion of ***exclusions that matter*** is a crucial consideration of this work and shall be woven into the analyses throughout the following chapters.

Having now been equipped with the theoretical tools for dissecting the case study, this work shall proceed to analysis. The following four chapters are separated into two sections – politics and culture. Chapters 3 and 4 examine the role of international and domestic politics in the absence of a terrorism narrative for Trinidad and Tobago. Chapters 5 and 6 examine the specific cultural idiosyncrasies of Trinidad and Tobago which play an integral part in understanding the security culture of that state and, by extension, why a terrorism narrative never developed there. In keeping with the spirit of this chapter, and indeed the overall essence of this work, it shall be seen that this is an artificial delineation as the two sections are deeply entangled. The insights

gained from each part of this work must be read through the other in order to address the research questions. These shall be examined after the analysis of the case study and will show how unless the discipline of IR is further diversified, it shall remain, ultimately, impoverished.

Chapter 3

Hemispheric Hegemony and the Unexpected Absent Narrative

Having moved on from theoretical considerations, this work now proceeds to examine the case – the absentee terrorism narrative for Trinidad and Tobago. This chapter is the first of two which examine the political considerations. It will be exploring the absence of an international terrorism narrative for Trinidad and Tobago despite the islands' history with terrorism and despite being in the 'backyard' of the self-appointed global guarantor of security – the United States (US). It will be followed up by a complementary chapter which addresses domestic narratives.

This chapter demonstrates how US policy makers have acted as the securitising actors for the Western Hemisphere since that state's inception, articulating threats ranging from European colonialism, to communism, to narco-terrorism. Latin American and Caribbean (LAC) territories have been recipients of the exceptional measures that came with those securitisations however the regions have typically been conflated in the process. This chapter is concerned with that conflation and will show how it is a product of US grand strategy, which has ultimately led to the absentee terrorism narrative for Trinidad and Tobago.

Although some scholars such as Buzan and Wæver (2003) consider the Caribbean to be a part of North America in terms of security regions the Caribbean is quite often included in broader considerations of Latin America by scholars, states and organisations alike. China for example

has been described as having abstracted its Latin American policies onto the Caribbean in its penetration into the region (The Caribbean Council 2019). Tickner and Herz were also identified earlier in this work as recognising this geographic conflation and indeed they literally bracketed the Caribbean into their consequent discussion on the use of theory by Latin American scholars (Tickner and Herz 2012, 93). Additionally, Hillman (2003, 8) identifies the way in which Latin American regional scholars tend to speak of the Caribbean in terms of the Spanish-speaking Caribbean, excluding the anglophone and francophone territories. Meanwhile, the OECD, declaring the success of its 20-year relationship with the 'LAC region' highlights that relations have never been stronger than they are now. Nevertheless, it was only in 2018 that the organisation began to develop 'sub-regional programmes' due to 'recognising the heterogeneity of the region' (OECD 2018).

Following from this starting point, the chapter shall look at the ways in which US hegemonic narratives have always lumped the Caribbean in with Latin America, denying it the individuality and agency to be recognised as a source of potential threat. The position that shall be put forward is that the US' grand strategy has, over time, produced and reproduced security narratives that frame the Latin America-Caribbean (LAC) regions in a particular way, at the expense of recognising that they are far from being a monolith. The chapter will show how through implementing grand strategy, the US has created an enduring hegemonic security narrative for the western hemisphere. The most recent iteration of this narrative sees the LAC regions in terms of transnational-organised crime – particularly with regards to narco-trafficking.

The chapter advances that this narrative has subjugated other competing security narratives such as the terrorism narrative. Terrorism has been a major concern of the US since the

terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 (Colucci 2018, 135; Bobea 2009, 92), informing much of its foreign policy concerns. Nevertheless, radicalism was able to flourish invisibly nearby, never being problematised until it was actively part of a global terror threat. It will be posited in this chapter, that as a result of the way in which the global terrorism narrative (as a hegemonic security narrative informed by grand strategy) has been framed, it too tends to be exclusionary in informing who is perceived as a terrorist threat. It is the nature of these combined exclusions that this work will ultimately argue, results in Trinidad and Tobago not having been securitised within the global terrorism narrative.

The chapter shall proceed through this discussion by first outlining grand strategy during several key eras of US history. It does this chronologically by looking at the way in which it is manifested in early American expansionism, then in Cold War (CW) Relations, and post-Cold War Relations which have been focused on the War on Drugs. It will then look at how that well-established and enduring narrative has interacted with the global terrorism narrative which emerged after 2001. In so doing, this work will rationalise the absence of Trinidad and Tobago within the global hegemonic narrative on terrorism embodied in the War on Terror.

Despite this chronological approach, used for organisational signposts, this work takes as its position that there is continuity across the history of US grand strategising which informs its security narratives regardless of administration. To identify this common thread, it is more effective to abstract outwards to these broad periods in time, rather than focusing on the character of grand strategy of specific presidencies, of which there are too many to consider in this work. By reading the insights gained from and about the two hegemonic narratives (on drugs and terrorism) through each other, the discussion will then move to analysis. It will apply theoretical frameworks to consider how despite the continuity in the character of US

grand strategy, the primacy of one narrative nevertheless resulted in the subjugation of the other, ultimately allowing for the absence of Trinidad and Tobago in the global terrorism narrative.

United States Grand Strategy and Security in the LAC Regions

In order to engage with the way in which US grand strategy has led to an overarching security narrative for the LAC regions, it is imperative to first understand what the term means. This is by no means a simple task, as, like many concepts in the discipline of International Relations, there fails to be a single universally accepted definition (Balzacq, Dombrowski, and Reich 2019, 66; Brands 2014, 1). This work will be adopting Peter Feaver's simple description of grand strategy, as referring to:

> [T]he collection of plans and policies that comprise the state's deliberate effort to harness political, military, diplomatic, and economic tools together to advance that state's national interest. Grand strategy is the art of reconciling ends and means. It involves purposive action — what leaders think and want. Such action is constrained by factors leaders explicitly recognize … and by those they might only implicitly feel…
>
> (Feaver 2009)

In the case of the US, grand strategy is quite often linked in the literature to history and to US exceptionalism (Colucci 2018, 140; Benjamin 1987, 91). It is also, by virtue of the link to the desires of leaders, that it is often articulated in terms of individual administrations. Keeping the above definition in mind, this chapter will argue that notwithstanding the various administrations, exceptionalism has proven a consistent thread across the various iterations of grand strategy in US history. It will now proceed to examine the character of that thread, in terms of the overall character of grand strategising at different periods in history in order to speak to overarching narratives of the LAC regions.

Early American Expansionism

As a Caribbean IR scholar, it is not uncommon to hear the US described as the proxy for British colonialism in the New World (Palmer 1998, 8; Watson 1980, 30). This can be seen not only in its early foreign policy, but also in its early domestic policy with regards to expansionism. Not unlike Europe, US expansionism was rife with imperialism and racism based on pseudo-science. This informed US actions in so far as they not only articulated the superiority of the Anglo Saxon over others, but simultaneously asserted that it was their responsibility to provide others with their leadership. This responsibility was articulated in terms of divine mission – the nation was ordained by God in its destiny to expand (Maingot and Lozano 2005, 5; Horsman 1994, 43–44; Livingstone 2009, 6). American exceptionalism and by extension US expansionism can therefore be seen as an entanglement between the ideational racist imaginary and the material territories and bodies in the 'New World' with which it engaged.

Manifest Destiny

Coined in the mid-19th Century, Manifest Destiny is the term often used to refer to this notion. It is the basis of American exceptionalism which informs its 'altruistic and virtuous mission' (Muno and Brand 2014, 380) or destiny rather, to expand its dominion and spread democracy and capitalism across the Americas. Indeed, B.H Liddell Hart, one of the most prominent names in work on grand strategy, asserts that ideology is one of its fundamental components, as 'the people's willing spirit is often as important as to possess the more concrete forms of

power' (Liddell Hart 1991, 322). Colucci argues that as a result of the ideology embedded in Manifest Destiny, the concept of 'an imperial republic' formed quite early in US history and 'four hundred years of steady expansion were based on this belief' (Colucci 2018, 140–41). From very early in the United States' existence, then, the ideational and the material (land and financial capital) can be seen as closely entangled through expansionism.

As the nascent state expanded, first westwards to the Pacific Coast and then south to the Latin American territories, we can see the early iteration of US grand strategy in action. Material national interests of territory acquisition and wealth were contextualised in terms of moral and ethical constructs, and institutionalised in national policy such as the Monroe Doctrine. This led to the genocide of the indigenous people and the usurping of their land. It included war and military occupation as expansion moved further south – actions justified by subsequent policies which built on the ideological premises of Manifest Destiny as enshrined in the Monroe Doctrine. The US had thusly positioned itself to create and tell the story of the Western Hemisphere.

In discussing grand strategy, Thierry Balzacq, Peter Dombrowski and Simon Reich (2019, 80) speak about the way in which, for countries such as France and the United Kingdom, grand strategising can be seen as historically linked to imperialism. Indeed, one might argue that for the US, the same can be said – especially in considering the argument made above. Grace Livingstone (2009, 5) argues that imperialism reflects the period of early US expansionism right up to the habitual intervention and occupation of the early 20th Century under Roosevelt. Thereafter, she speaks in terms of hegemony, citing less direct influence on outcomes as the rationale for this.

Following from this, Colucci (2018, 139) argues that scholars studying US national security doctrine - which informs its grand strategy - have identified 'nine consistent, identifiable themes' over its history. Amongst these themes are pre-emption, unilateralism, hegemony, moral pragmatism and legalism. These last two concepts speak to the role of the US insofar as it may act as the moral arbiter of states' behaviour and as the source of global stability, respectively (Gaddis 2005, 16–30; Hastedt 2015, 62). This work shall recall these consistent themes as it makes the argument for American exceptionalism, enshrined in Manifest Destiny, being that common thread which materialises one iteration of the LAC regions at the expense of others.

Manifest Destiny and Early US-LAC Relations

Muno and Brand (2014, 376) argue that from a macro perspective, the US foreign policy which has created hegemonic narratives for Latin America and the Caribbean, has historically oscillated between two dominant narratives for itself in the region: leadership and partnership. What is seen in Manifest Destiny is the early underlying philosophy of the US desire for 'leadership' which later played itself out in foreign policy such as the Monroe Doctrine, the Roosevelt Corollary and even the much later Platt Amendment, each of which assigns implicit roles to the actors involved. The role assigned to the US in its early foreign policy towards the LAC regions, is guarantor of security in the region in line with Colucci's 'consistent themes' of 'legalism' as defined in the previous paragraph. LAC territories meanwhile are designated as recipients of the outcomes of the securitisation processes

within the US national security mechanisms (Livingstone 2009, 6). The US therefore squarely placed itself centrally such that it could determine the security narratives of the region.

Early US perceptions of Latin America and the Caribbean reek of the type of exoticism outlined by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978). People who populated LAC countries were infantilised and therefore deemed irrational and in need of the 'manly rational culture of the United States' (O'Brien 2007, 35). The women were hyper-sexualised and the territories – particularly those of the Caribbean — were there for US consumption (O'Brien 2007, 271; McCollin 2010, 2–4; Maingot and Lozano 2005, 1–2); though not for integration as the black and mixed race populations of many of the island territories were looked down upon (O'Brien 2007, 104–10; Renda 2001, 162–63; Livingstone 2009, 12). In a continuation of the entanglement between the racist imaginary and the material territories and bodies of the south, the Caribbean and Latin America as non-Anglo Saxon territories were lumped together in the US narrative as a single region in need of the paternalistic guidance of the enlightened United States even though they would never be worthy of acquisition.

Part of the problem with early US expansionist imperialism, however, is that it was at odds with itself. While the US sought to reshape LAC countries in their own image and likeness, believing that their territorial and commercial expansion would be a source of stability for the region (Colucci 2018, 142–43; O'Brien 2007, 5), it would find that it could not both promote its particular brand of democracy and maximise its self-interests. In challenging the European colonial powers in the region while seeking to also set up markets for its industrial products (iron, steel, coal), the US intervened in the affairs of the LAC region more than 30 times between 1898 and 1934 (Livingstone 2009, 12).The result was destabilising conflict which

threatened the 'legalism' feature (the US as a source of global stability) embedded in their national security policies (Colucci 2018, 139).

Not only did the LAC regions reject some of its fundamental values, but US endeavours which privileged its economic interests and treated subordinated populations with a patriarchal attitude resulted in a deep lack of popularity with their populations. Indeed, American preoccupation with an order and stability that served *them* outweighed concerns about socio-economic inequalities within Latin American societies. The result was that American alliances with the Latin American elites resulted more in a preservation of the status quo rather than encouraging any lessening of the disparity between the rich and the poor in those territories (O'Brien 2007, 9–10; Livingstone 2009, 2–3).

The US' initiatives prompted increased resistance as political consciousness of the people rose and along with it, a struggle for democracy which resembled not American democratic ideals but their own - which would feature socio-economic equality rather than the large disparities facilitated by US interests (O'Brien 2007, 9–10). The resultant insurgencies and revolutions in Latin America would challenge not only domestic regimes but also US regional influence for decades and also due in no small part to proximity, would influence the Caribbean and how it fit into US security narratives.

The US engaged in recurrent interference in the affairs of Latin American states as part of its self-appointed mandate, or what Muno and Brand (2014, 380) call America's version of the White Man's Burden. This however resulted not in the desired stabilisation of the hemisphere, but created a cycle of continuing military intervention and occupation (Livingstone 2009, 5). With the world economic crisis in the early 20th Century, this approach was temporarily abandoned in the 1930s, such that the Monroe Doctrine had arguably waned

in the early 20th century (Maingot and Lozano 2005, 1). Roosevelt's Good Neighbour Policy was enacted during that decade, which focused instead on being a good partner with other nations, or as Livingstone describes it 'depending on "friendly dictators"…to maintain order' (Livingstone 2009, 3). Recalling Muno and Brand (2014, 376) once more, we see here, on the surface at least, the oscillation from leadership to partnership.

As a result of this change in approach, along with other important international events such as the end of the Second World War, there was a huge growth in multilateralism which included, in no small part, the LAC regions. As Roosevelt's policy promised respect for national sovereignty and self-determination, the appearance of more cooperation was necessary. The United Nations was formed, with most Latin American states being founding members. The OAS was also founded, during this time, with a mandate that explicitly emphasised non-intervention and cooperation (Muno and Brand 2014, 381). It was through these types of multilateral mechanisms that the US was later able to facilitate the continuing pursuit of its interests in the region and to propagate hegemonic security narratives during the Cold War (Dark and Harris 1996, 19; Livingstone 2009, 24).

Moving into an examination of US-LAC relations during the CW period, this work will keep in mind that the chapter has now established the early character of US grand strategy. Its collection of bureaucratic tools, diplomatic capabilities and material resources, was purposefully directed towards achieving political, economic and territorial expansion in the western hemisphere through hegemony, pre-emption and unilateralism. Fundamental to American expansionist activity and linked to American exceptionalism, the US' grand strategy is facilitated by the enduring myth that its mission is divinely assigned and virtuous. Although at times less overtly visible through oscillations between leadership- and partnership-focused

policy, this character persevered into more modern hemispheric relations embedded in institutions which allowed for the continuing export of American values alongside the pursuit of national interests.

Cold War US-LAC Relations

Confronted with the 'threat' of communism, the American gaze shifted globally in the late 1940s to address that security concern. Jason Parker (2008, 67) asserts that in so doing, the Truman administration re-scripted the national security 'prototype' to extend beyond its original hemispheric sphere of influence to fit the global stage, while retaining the original basic tenets informed by Manifest Destiny. By the 1940s, communism was growing in popularity in the LAC region as states sought to find a politics which reflected their desire for egalitarianism, in overt rejection of American elitist influences on their politics, economies and societies.

By 1947, Picado was attempting the annulment of election results in Costa Rica, with the backing of the popular communist party and the US was turning away from its partnership-driven foreign policy and intervening once more in the affairs of Latin American territories (Longley 1993, 149–50). Meanwhile, in the early stages, the Caribbean was virtually ignored as Caribbean leaders had done enough to make the US administration feel that they were not a threat (Parker 2008, 11). Despite these territories being 'cold spots' in the Cold War (CW), as evidenced by their absence from the literature on the subject, they retained symbolic and geo-political strategic importance for the US (Parker 2008, 6).

By the early 1950s, when US attention returned to the Caribbean region, there was a more international flavour to intervention. The anti-communist counter-offensive in the region took place through an alliance between the British and the Americans. Surrogate institutions, were used to stamp out communist interest in the English-speaking Caribbean. In Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad and British Guiana (Guyana), for example, labour NGOS neutralised

communist sentiment. Nevertheless, the Marxist People's Progressive Party (PPP) won the 1953 general elections in Guyana. Despite the contrasting context to undemocratic case of Picado in Costa Rica, the outcome was that British troops landed, suspended the constitution and threw the PPP out of office, in a show of overt intervention. This action was sponsored by the United States – covert intervention – and was the first major anti-communist offensive by the US in the Caribbean (Maingot and Lozano 2005, 20–22; Waters and Daniels 2005, 285).

By March 1954, American and LAC delegates at the OAS were formally adopting anti-communist positions, such that the Tenth International Conference of American States concluded with the 'Declaration for Solidarity for the Preservation of Political Integrity of the American States in the Intervention of International Communism', also known as the Caracas Declaration of Solidarity. Ironically, the Declaration condemned communism as being 'incompatible with the concept of American Freedom' by virtue of its 'anti-democratic nature and interventionist tendency' which therefore required 'urgent measures' to address the threat (Livingstone 2009, 24). This, for Maingot and Lozano (2005, 19–22) marks the moment when the US officially securitised communism as an existential threat in the context of hemispheric relations, legitimising for itself actions which were unacceptable if committed by others. This securitisation shall be explored further in relation to hemispheric relations in the CW context.

Manifest Destiny and Hemispheric Cold War Relations

Following from Maingot and Lozano's sentiment about the securitisation of communism at the OAS it is possible to once more trace the way in which the ideas informing Manifest Destiny run as a common thread through US grand strategy. Following this thread is key as it will ultimately inform this chapter's discussion on Trinidad and Tobago's exclusion from the global terrorism narrative later in history. The securitising move at the OAS was based on perceived threats to US ideological and material interests. This is underscored by Manifest Destiny insofar as that it represents the divine mission of spreading US values of democracy and capitalism across is sphere of influence. The emergency measures implied in the speech act, embodied by the resolution, were by extension, also linked to American exceptionalism. Recalling Colucci's (2018, 139) consistent characteristics, they facilitated the legitimation of US hegemonic behaviour through legalism (the positioning of the US as a source of stability), and intervention.

Recalling Balzacq, Leonard, and Ruzicka's (2015, 508–9) argument that actors bring into the securitising move pre-existing power configurations that either facilitate, or preclude the process of securitisation, this example shows the relevance of arguments for giving due consideration to the power laden nature of the securitisation process. The US' position as regional hegemon endowed it with greater persuasive capabilities, allowing for the LAC regions to be assigned this security narrative. By virtue of successful securitisation of the issue, it can be seen how the US was able to increase its own power in the region through the sanctioning of exceptional measures, highlighting another aspect of the power dynamics

involved in securitising threats (Balzacq, Leonard, and Ruzicka 2015, 504). This is an important consideration that shall be revisited in the following section on Post-CW relations.

On the point of communist threat, Livingstone (2009, 24) adds, that in the LAC regions, this was 'greatly exaggerated', a position supported by Castañeda (1990, 471). This suggests that the securitisation of the threat within the region was in fact a reconciliation of means and a larger end. This can be interpreted as the US' deliberate and strategic inclusion of the hemisphere in the global security narrative as part of a harnessing all of its resources – including its diplomatic resources, towards addressing the CW – that is to say part of its grand strategy. Its approach to the LAC region, rooted in Manifest Destiny and the myth of American exceptionalism fits into the overall US grand strategy for addressing the Cold War.

In this instance, there is a change in character to the ideational aspect of US policy – while still present, the political aspect of American exceptionalism has come to the fore with democratic ideology being threatened. The southern territories nevertheless continue to be treated as a monolith in relation to a security narrative rather than seeing them as individual territories or separate regions situated at differing places within that narrative by virtue of their differing identities. In the CW era political ideology along with the racist imaginary continue to be entangled with the bodies and states of the LAC territories.

The case of Grenada shows how the Caribbean continued to matter geo-politically to the US during the CW, but more as a part of the larger security narrative rather than as a local hemispheric communist threat. When Maurice Bishop, leader of the New Jewel Movement (NJM) came into power in Grenada, after toppling Eric Gairy in a coup d'état, he was popular with the Grenadian people as well as with the wider region (Maingot and Lozano 2005, 30; Schoenhals and Melanson 1985, 33). His People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) took

office in 1979, after having taken hard critical stances against US foreign policy. Despite this, the PRG's stance towards the US was conciliatory, offering a mixed economy and it went on to develop normal diplomatic relations with non-revolutionary governments such as France and Canada.

The Carter Administration was ambivalent in its response to Grenada, neither supporting the ousted Eric Gairy's request for assistance in returning to power, nor Bishop's request for aid in defending the state against Gairy's mercenaries. There was no preoccupation with the threat to that deeply held American value of democracy reflected in the Administration's response. There was no concern specifically with communism gaining a foothold in and spreading through the eastern Caribbean. Indeed, it was only when a Cuban delegation visited Grenada, that the US ambassador to the eastern Caribbean was dispatched with haste (Schoenhals and Melanson 1985, 36). That is to say, that only when the Caribbean experience became linked to the larger narrative, through Cuba as a proxy for the USSR, did the US become interested.

Only after the Bishop Administration grew stronger ties with Cuba – which was already seen as the gateway to the west for Soviet entry – did tensions grow between Grenada and the US. The hegemon began to perceive Grenada as a threat to other anglophone Caribbean territories (Schoenhals and Melanson 1985, 39). The Reagan Administration was far more explicit, denouncing the PRG's practice and clearly directed Grenada away from anti-American propaganda and acting like a Cuban proxy. The US instead recommended reorientation towards constitutional democracy and non-alignment. So close had ties between the Bishop Administration and Cuba become, that when Bishop was executed in

1983 by his detractors, Cuba observed three official days of mourning as the Grenadian military began its short, 6-day rule (Schoenhals and Melanson 1985, 133).

On the morning of October 25th 1983, US Armed forces accompanied by men from other Caribbean nations landed in Grenada. The invasion was framed as the response to a formal request from the OECS, and to ensure the personal safety of the roughly 1000 US citizens on the island whose lives were at stake due to the 'leftist thugs' who had seized power (Schoenhals and Melanson 1985, 85). The island was only viewed as a threat insofar as it had a relationship with Cuba, and fell into the broader narrative, not as a potential source of threat in its own right. Indeed, Regan had months before publicly spoken of Grenada in such a way as to indicate that it was a 'geopolitical nightmare', as part of a broader discussion on Central America and El Salvador again demonstrating the notion that the US tends to mistakenly think of the regions as a homogenous group (Schoenhals and Melanson 1985, 133).

The military operation in Grenada, a token win, was meant primarily to provide a display of strength and success in the post-Vietnam context (Brands 2014, 113–14). Grenada only mattered insofar as it related to broader strategic concerns about Cuba as a Soviet proxy and projecting strength to the world. The southern part of the hemisphere was a bloc and mattered insofar as it related to the overarching security narrative created for the world.

Hemispheric relations during the CW illustrate that despite a turn from a regional to a global focus, US policies, diplomacy, military resources continued to be used in a hegemonic manner in order to secure US national security interests against the perceived threat – no longer colonialism - but communism. Along with hegemony, moral pragmatism and legalism underscored by American Messianism continued to feature strongly in US grand strategy such that ideals of democracy were simultaneously invoked and dispensed with, in the pursuit of

US national interest. The LAC regions continue during this period to be seen as one and in need of US paternalism in order to save them from the ills of communism.

Post-Cold War US-LAC Relations

With the end of the Cold War, United States rhetoric shifted considerably once again. With the rise of the New World Order, post-CW US policy refocused its attentions towards new priorities: promoting liberal democracy and stemming the flow of illegal narcotics (Council on Foreign Relations 2008, 7–8). By examining these priorities, one can see once more how, despite its changing concerns, the US bundled the Latin American and Caribbean experiences together into broad approaches. This will bring us to the narrative that remains the dominant one for the LAC regions.

Encouraging Liberal Democracy

In examining the post-CW era of hemispheric relations, it is possible to see a return to offensive rather than defensive action with regards to US commitment to the spread of liberal economics. This can be seen in terms of the plethora of economic policy that emerged after the end of the CW as the US sought to implement a neo-liberal 'new world economic order' (Livingstone 2009, 102; Saxe-Fernández 1994, 226). Once more the enduring notion of exceptionalism mandated it to bear the burden of leadership (Dark and Harris 1996, 131) and growing competition from Asian economies made it important for the US to find new markets if it were to remain as economically powerful as it was politically, in the Post-CW context (Livingstone 2009, 101).

In western hemispheric relations, this manifested in the creation of multilateral trading agreements such as the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI - 1983), the Andean Trade Preference Act (1991), the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA - 1993) and the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA 1994-) which encouraged privatisation and deepening of trade ties. The last of these was never well established, as the period was also characterised by a resurgence of antagonistic views on economics along North-South lines (Yilmaz 2008, 52; Council on Foreign Relations 2008, 7–8). John Saxe-Fernández (1994, 225) points out that that these economic strategies and policies were formulated in part by the Monroe Doctrine and subsequent extensions upon it – all of which build upon Manifest Destiny and the mandate to spread these values.

Jorge Castañeda (1990, 472) builds upon this, advancing that running alongside the implementation of these aggressive economic policies and tied to others, was the elevation of the narcotics issue to a place of prominence. While the issue was by no means new, he argues that elevating it – that is to say, by securitising it, the US could introduce more 'intrusive forms of cooperation' to the hemisphere once more. Livingstone (2009, 102) supports this assertion, recognising that the cocaine supply to the US had been steadily rising since the 1980s but that the drug trade was also used as a pretext for interventionism and re-establishing a military presence in the southern part of the hemisphere given that communism was no longer a plausible security issue. This provides a segue into the current and enduring security narrative for the LAC regions – narco-trafficking – institutionalised through the War on Drugs.

The War on Drugs

Jorge Castañeda advances that the extent of the US' focus on the narcotics issue is a result of the security and ideology vacuums left in the wake of the fall of the USSR. He claims that the regional security narrative has now been framed such that:

> [t]he evil (Soviet/communist) empire to the east has given way to the evil (drug-producing/immigration-generating) slum to the south.
>
> (Castañeda 1990, 471)

Castañeda's description of this narrative is important as it introduces an idea which will become even more relevant when the chapter progresses into the upcoming section on Post-9/11 US-LAC Relations. It is also important in that it indicates where the narcotics threat was geographically situated in the US' securitisation of drugs. His description of the USSR and the LAC regions as being perceived as 'evil' links back once more to Manifest Destiny and a type of Manichean dualism that has featured in US security narratives.

Caroline Kennedy writes, that tied into the Messianism of US exceptionalism and the foreign policy which it informs, is the constant of Manichaeism. This, she argues, manifests in a 'permanent temptation for the United States to 'moralise' its relations with others, often rationalising its own actions by demonising (sometimes literally) its opponents' (Kennedy 2013, 624). Indeed, this is reminiscent once more of the 'moral pragmatism' which Colucci (2018, 139) identified as a constant in US grand strategy, supporting the continuing argument of the continuity of exceptionalism in US grand strategy over the course of history. It is this argument that Castañeda invokes in his rationalising of the War on Drugs and which will be

discussed later in this chapter. At this stage, the chapter progresses, looking at how LAC regions have been lumped together once more by virtue of being assigned the role of 'site for the production of the narcotics threat to the US'.

The United States is known for its status as the largest single consumer market for illicit drugs with the EU running a close second and usage also on the uptake in Latin America. Latin America and the Caribbean tend to supply the US while Afghanistan tends to supply Europe (Bagley 2012, 1–3; United Nations 2018). The attempts to regulate drug flow into the US escalated during the Reagan presidency; prior to the end of the Cold War, however, it continued to receive funding as a priority under the subsequent Bush and Clinton Administrations. Trade of illicit narcotics remained a bipartisan priority until the turn of the century when attention shifted to the War on Terror after 2001 (Council on Foreign Relations 2008, 8; Bobea 2009, 92; Teslik 2006).

Colombia has been one of the major producers of hard drugs in Latin America, where production has been driven by US demand. Production shifted there in the mid-1990s after partial success in the late 1980s of tackling producers on the southern Andes. By the turn of the millennium, Colombia was producing 90% of the world's coca leaf (Bagley 2012, 3–4). As a result of US intervention – backing the Colombian government in war against Pablo Escobar - the Medellin Cartel was dismantled and following this, negotiations with the Cali Cartel led to its dissolution as well. With a vacuum left to fill and only small networks remaining after the fall of the cartel giants, the late 1990s saw paramilitary militias taking control of the drug trade and the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), and the United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC) engaged in increasing drug-related violence as they rose to fill the gap. The early 2000s were marked by more US backed initiatives. While Colombia remained

the principal source of cocaine in the Andes, US involvement caused a shift in the operations of organised crime groups towards Mexico (Bagley 2012, 3–5; Norman 2018, 641–50). These shifting operations, as a result of US intervention, were the start of the 'regionalising' of the drug trade.

Narcotics related organised crime in Mexico has flourished as groups vie for control of smuggling operations across the US border and patterns suggest that continued US involvement and intervention will serve only to continue the balloon or 'push down, pop up' effect - shifting operations across various territories in Latin America rather than stopping them (Bagley 2012, 1; Teslik 2006; Cardash, Cillufo, and Tussing 2011, 11–12). For example, Venezuela is now a key transit point for smuggling through the Caribbean, with the Mexican routes having become more problematic.

The Caribbean has therefore now become an important part of smuggling routes (Bagley 2012, 7; Council on Foreign Relations 2008, 8; Francis and Mauser 2011, 165–66) with Trinidad, by virtue of proximity to the mainland, becoming a central player in the supply of drugs to North American markets. Indeed as Bobea elaborates, the Caribbean's geographical salience has placed it between the production and consumption zones of hard drugs such that in the case of cocaine for example, 500 of the 575 tons produced worldwide were passing through the Caribbean during the first decade of the new millennium (Bobea 2009, 92).

US recognition of this fact can be seen in terms of the types of foreign policy that came into being as a result of this changing trafficking landscape. The Shiprider Agreement is one example of this, with the US demanding from island territories the right to engage in pursuit and board vessels in their territorial waters which would have been disallowed under maritime law. This Agreement was the source of much discord within the Caribbean, as

though Trinidad and Tobago signed onto the policy without dispute, other countries such as Jamaica took umbrage with the entitlement which the US felt to trample on their sovereignty to seek its own interests (Ferguson 2003, 41; Maingot and Lozano 2005, 15).

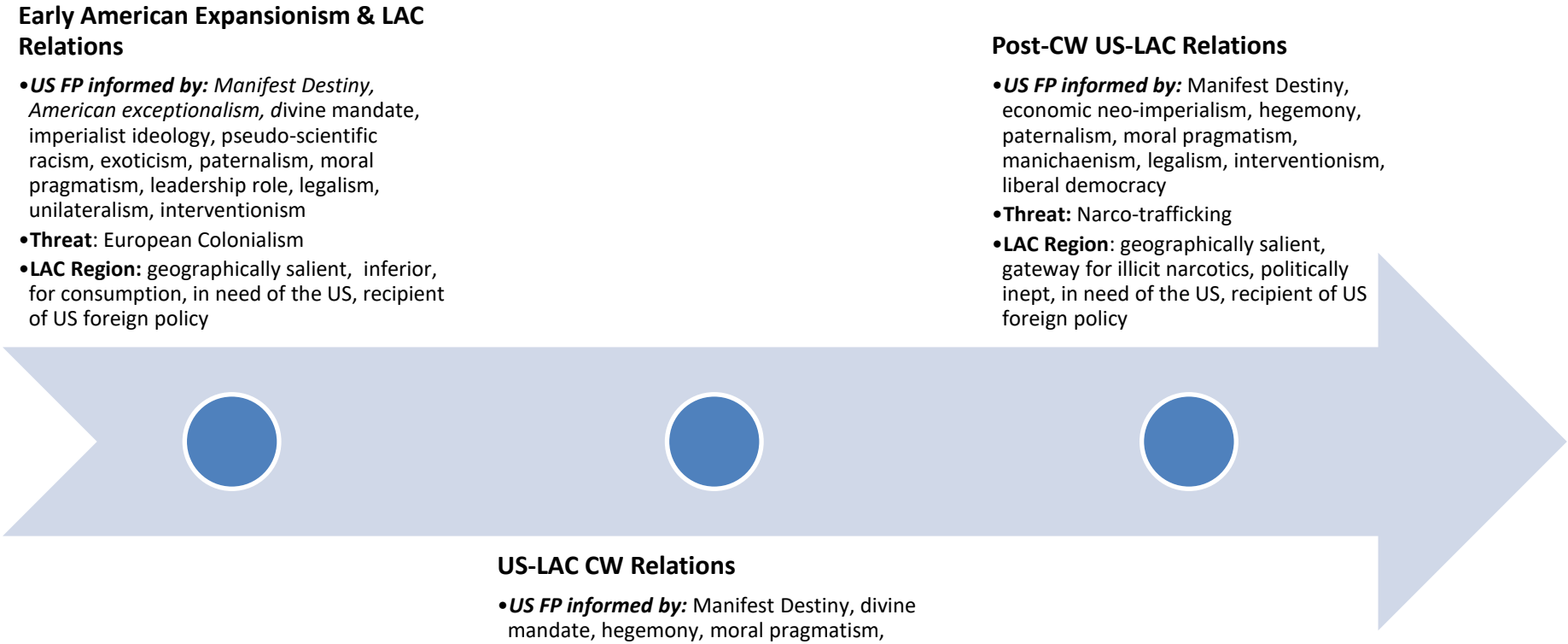
This hegemonic influence of the US can further be seen in various ways – including intervention, as in the case of Manuel Noriega's capture and conviction in 1989. It can further be seen terms of the way that the superpower has used multilateral institutions in order to institutionalise its security interests regarding the narco-trafficking. Just as during the CW, both the OAS and the UN have been used to achieve this, as official channels for securitising the threat to the US. Doing this in the multilateral context allows for justification the type of measure which the US desired to use while ensuring that it would have a hand in designing those measures (Horwitz 2010, 140–41; Francis and Mauser 2011, 172).

This use of multilateralism is a later iteration of early US policy in this regard. It reflects an oscillation towards partnership in US strategy – at least on the surface. Before this turn to partnership, the US took a leadership approach, using both carrots and sticks to coerce cooperation. Preferential trade agreements were granted and trade sanctions were instituted, denial of funding through international-development lending institutions was restricted - all based on cooperation with US drug policy (Francis and Mauser 2011, 163–64).

The nature of US foreign policy and strategy for the War on Drugs has been the source of frustration for LAC administrations. States have found that US policy creates impediments to implementing their own indigenous policies which might overlap with methods or ideas that the United States rejects. This has resulted in further regulatory failures and increasing disfavour amongst the Latin American people (Teslik 2006; Council on Foreign Relations 2008,

7; Bagley 2012, 12–13). It illustrates as well, the way in which US foreign policy treats the LAC region as a monolith, that can be addressed with a single approach.

This chapter has up until now concerned itself with the way in which US grand strategy from its fledgling stage up until the end of the 20th Century has, despite changing contexts, retained fundamentally the same character which has in turn led to it framing the LAC regions in a consistent way. Even as interests, policy rhetoric and the priority of the regions to the US has changed over time, the territories have, by virtue of the nature of American exceptionalism (which informs foreign policy) consistently been conflated. Most recently they have both been subsumed under the narrative of transnational organised crime as part of the United States' hegemonic security narrative. As the drug trade has been securitised as a threat to the US, the LAC regions have been identified as the source of that threat. Referring to the diagram below, this trend can be observed.


Early American Expansionism & LAC Relations
•US FP informed by: Manifest Destiny, American exceptionalism, divine mandate, imperialist ideology, pseudo-scientific racism, exoticism, paternalism, moral pragmatism, leadership role, legalism, unilateralism, interventionism
•Threat: European Colonialism
•LAC Region: geographically salient, inferior, for consumption, in need of the US, recipient of US foreign policy
US-LAC CW Relations
•US FP informed by: Manifest Destiny, divine mandate, hegemony, moral pragmatism, manichaenism legalism, institutions as vehicles for FP, interventionism, ideology, liberal democracy, occupation
•Threat: Communism
•LAC Region: source of trade, geographically salient, gateway for communism, recipient of US foreign policy
Post-CW US-LAC Relations
•US FP informed by: Manifest Destiny, economic neo-imperialism, hegemony, paternalism, moral pragmatism, manichaenism, legalism, interventionism, liberal democracy
•Threat: Narco-trafficking
•LAC Region: geographically salient, gateway for illicit narcotics, politically inept, in need of the US, recipient of US foreign policy

Reading this through the insights of securitisation theory, historically, by virtue of its self-appointed Messianic role, US policy makers having been the securitising actors for the Western Hemisphere. They have articulated threats ranging from European colonialism, to communism, to illicit narcotics, situating the United States as the primary referent object. By virtue of the paternalistic character underlying the ideologies that inform US foreign policy, the LAC regions have found themselves designated as within the US' 'sphere of interest' and therefore a secondary referent object of sorts which receives the policies emerging from various securitisations.

Drawing on Balzacq's (2005, 179–81) argument for giving attention not only to the speech act, but to context and audience(s), one can further argue that the domestic success of the securitising moves in question was facilitated by contexts which made them amenable to the enabling audience within the US Congress. The presence of colonies in the western hemisphere, the growing popularity of communist activity in the LAC regions and a Post-CW security vacuum allowed for the securitising moves to be framed in ways that would have resonated strongly with members if its legislature. The perseverance of the myth of American exceptionalism was a strong undercurrent which would also have served as a psychocultural factor, interacting with these contextual factors to create the desired perlocutionary effects and encourage audience assent.

Another audience in this regard would have been the international community as embodied in multilateral organisations which became a factor in later foreign policy choices. Insofar as the US was able to successfully securitise in this context, we see once more the persuasive and or coercive power brought to bear on the audience in question. Indeed, the power dynamics within

these organisations show how powerful states can, as John Mearsheimer (1994, 13) argues, use these institutions for their calculated, self-interested pursuits. This appears to be a perfect example of how 'securitisation combines the politics of threat design with that of threat management' (Balzacq, Leonard, and Ruzicka 2015, 495) as in one fell swoop, the US is able to use the pre-existing power configurations embedded in these institutions both to construct a threat and legitimise the steps that US leaders want to take to manage it.

As recipients of US foreign policy themselves, not only did LAC regions end up secondary referent objects, but they also functioned as audiences in their own right. Unlike the domestic enabling audience of the US government, the audiences within the LAC territories did not completely buy the US rhetoric of threat. This is reflected in the growth an anti-US sentiment identified in the LAC regions over the course of examples shown in this chapter. Here we see the importance of the power dynamics that critics of speech act theory insist be given consideration. It is by virtue of its imperialist and later hegemonic status that the US was able to coerce assent out of these territories, resorting even to military intervention to ensure cooperation. Thusly, by the end of the 20th Century the LAC regions were situated within the overarching narrative of the War on Drugs as a monolith and on the receiving end of a variety of exceptional measures – political and military, which arguably secured one referent object (the US) considerably more than the other in the immediate sense, but as this work shall come to argue, left the US more vulnerable to other potential threats in the long run.

Presented as such, Balzacq's (2005, 171–73) pragmatic approach to theorising securitisation does seem to do a good job at explaining the way in which US grand strategy has informed its

hemispheric relations, leading up to the War on Drugs. Indeed, given the particularly realist approach which underscores the US' international relations practice, it would make sense that the speech act and pragmatic action approaches to theorising securitisation are highly applicable. Retaining residual state centrism and focus on the 'analytics of government' within their framework even as they integrate constructivism and linguistics and other non-mainstream factors, this type of analysis seems to fall squarely within their remit.

Nevertheless, this work argues that the effectiveness of applying the securitisation approach is based on the fact that it was 'presented as such'. Theories of securitisation look at individual processes at a specific point in time, to explain outcomes. This work however, has made a different argument. It applied securitisation theory not to a single securitising move, but rather to the cumulative behaviour of the US over a long period of time, as connected by an enduring commonality - the fundamental ideological thread that runs through all of its strategising. This established the argument that there are a deep entanglements between the ideational aspects of US grand strategy and the material world with which it negotiates.

These entanglements have been brought to bear on every security issue identified, ultimately in the same way. US grand strategy functions as an apparatus which is informed by American exceptionalism as and ideology. The racist imaginary embedded in that ideology intra-acts with the phenomenon of LAC territories and their constituent populations. The agential cuts enacted by the apparatus reduce the LAC regions to a single homogenous entity for US policy makers. This excludes a perspective which takes the individuality of the regions and their component states

into consideration. This work will continue to argue in the upcoming section on post-9/11 hemispheric relations that this particular exclusion matters.

The validity of this argument can be illustrated by showing how Agential Realism allows for a more profound analysis than contemporary approaches to theorising security on their own. By virtue of its commitment not to classically informed understandings of science, but to quantum thinking, Agential Realism gifts this analysis the conception of time, not in a linear deterministic way, but rather in terms of 'hauntology' (Barad 2017, 67–69). This is where the nuance has come from in the above argument on the way that the US has securitised threats in the hemisphere. Recalling the notion of temporal diffraction discussed in the previous chapter, we need not think of time in terms of individual, chronological seconds, where each must finish for the other to end. Rather, we can think of the past as happening – a bleeding of moments into each other as part of the world's material becoming. This shall be a recurrent theme haunting this writing and shall play a great role once more in the fifth chapter of this work.

What this hauntological understanding of time offers us in this chapter is a way to see what has been excluded by studies of US grand strategy which look at individual cases on an administration by administration basis or others which are preoccupied with other academic considerations within the debates on grand strategy, such as definitions. By tracing the impact of American exceptionalism on grand strategy through time and identifying the way in which it, primarily through Manifest Destiny, has continued to unfold in various overlapping contexts, one can see what this exceptionalism excluded. There is the absence of a view of LAC territories as entities in their own right – dynamic entities with agency, as opposed to a monolith to be unchangingly seen

as ‘recipient of foreign policy’. As this chapter moves into its final section which brings us to the concern of this work’s case study – narratives of terrorism, it shall do so, keeping in the fore, the understanding that this exclusion matters in explaining the absence of Trinidad and Tobago in the global terrorism narrative.

Post 9/11 US-LAC Relations

Since the turn of the 21st century, the US has privileged a new security narrative, and a global one at that - terrorism. This narrative is not new in the sense of novel, but new in the sense that despite having been normalised over decades from as far back as the 1980s (R. Jackson 2004b, 5) it was institutionalised in the global context recently by way of the War on Terror (R. Jackson 2011, 392). The US’ War on Terror , since its commencement in 2001 has been focused on radical Islamic terrorists and the extremist groups to which they belong (Lansford, Watson, and Covarrubias 2009, 6). This is a reflection of the argument that the War on Terror is in itself made up of two common false narratives – that terrorists are always brown Muslims and that white people are never terrorists (Corbin 2017, 455). It is the first of these false narratives that informs the present discussion of how a possible narrative of terrorism for the Trinidad and Tobago never fully formed.

Caroline Corbin (2017, 456–64) explains that the narrative of all terrorists being Muslim, sometimes also morphs into the fallacy that all Muslims are terrorists. This fallacy also conflates Islam and radical Islam, such that all Muslims are radicalised. This has combined with another

conflation between Arab ethnicity and Islam that has been popular in the US even before 2001. Mavelli (2013, 165–66) endorses this, arguing that this combination has made it such that securitisation of Islam (conflated with Arab ethnicity and radicalised Islam) is inextricably linked to the securitisation of the terrorism all over the western world.

Corbin (2017, 458–62) continues to argue that the US government's response to terrorism, even before the 2001 attacks, disproportionately targeted Muslims. She further explains that these misperceptions and fallacies are not necessarily the result of mal-intent, but can also very much be the product of unconscious cognitive processes which are reinforced by Hollywood portrayals and news narratives which repeatedly link Islam with terrorism and gives more attention to attacks which have been perpetrated by Muslims than those which do not. Corbin's argument links back to one which was started earlier in this chapter and which shall now be further explored, as it plays a more significant role moving forward in this part of the argument – the notion of the Manichaean aspect of US exceptionalism.

Recalling Caroline Kennedy's (2013, 623–24) commentary on this, she argues that embedded in US exceptionalism is the propensity of the state to 'moralise' its relations with other states – a framing of the US as virtuous which runs alongside the demonisation of opponents . This is the duality that characterises the legacy of Manichaean philosophy. It was previously argued that this duality was manifested in US narratives of the Cold War, and of the War on Drugs (Kennedy 2013, 627; Castañeda 1990, 471). The chapter now argues that this manifests in the War on Terror as well, as Kennedy continues to argue that that the 2001 attacks brought to the table debates about evil and justifiable means of treating with evil (Kennedy 2013, 629).

Lee Jarvis writes that the Bush Administration can be identified by its tendency towards framing the War on Terror through use of 'explicitly moral rhetoric' which he in turn links to a Manichaean philosophy underlying the American psyche (Jarvis 2009, 134). Richard Jackson endorses this taking a strong position that in counter-terrorism discourses:

> Terrorists are endlessly demonised and vilified as being evil, barbaric and inhuman, while America and its coalition partners are described as being heroic, decent and peaceful – the defenders of freedom.
>
> (R. Jackson 2005, 59)

Elaborating this notion of barbarism, Dag Tuastad (2003, 591–92) articulates this in terms of Neo-Orientalism. He invokes Edward Said's explication of the imaginaries of the 'Arab' in Western thought, as illustrating an inherently inferior, incapable, backwards people lacking the civic-mindedness to engage in political communities. This Tuastad explains, is how terrorism and the Arab mind are linked in these sorts of Manichaean binaries with the West and 'civilised democracy'. As the Arab mind is considered to be a product of backwardness and terrorism is claimed to be product of that mind, terrorism is necessarily the product of the irrationality and backwardness embedded in that specific culture.

The Bush Administration devised a particularly bold grand strategy for the US in the post-9/11 context which featured several factors that Colucci identifies as constants– unilateralism, pre-emption and assertion of US authority (Livingstone 2009, 120; Brands 2014, 146). To action these factors, the US had to place itself in a place of moral superiority, or else it would have struggled to find support. Jackson (R. Jackson 2005, 59) argues that the Manichean character of the Bush Doctrine on the War on Terror was deliberate and carefully constructed with the intent to induce

'othering' so as to make the notion of war understandable to the American public. Josefin Graef, Raquel da Silva and Nicolas Lamay-Herbert (2018, 1) thusly cite the War on Terror as an exceptionally powerful example how narratives can legitimise political violence. They advance that by creating this duality of good/American versus evil/terrorist the administration could frame dissent as unpatriotic and 'anti-American'.

Morten Kelstrup, in his discussion of globalisation and societal insecurity examines terrorism and its implications for governance – both global and domestic. In so doing, he asserts that the threat of terrorism was successfully securitised in the post September 11th 2001 context on a global scale. According to Kelstrup, not unlike when the threat of climate change is securitised, this particular process identified terrorism as an existential threat to the universal referent object of the world and sought to legitimise a reformation of norms and rules in the international system for dealing with this threat (Kelstrup 2004, 112–13). He asserts that this securitisation potentially changes 'a basically unilateral strategy into a much broader and more legitimate power project' (Kelstrup 2004, 115).

Writing several years after Kelstrup, Barry Buzan supports this idea in his discussion of how the War on Terror might be seen as the new Cold War. In this vein, the Copenhagen scholar explains how the War on Terror was able to fill the global threat deficit which the US experienced after the end of the CW and how it has now been framed as 'a defence of the West, or western civilization, against those who would seek to destroy it' (Buzan 2006, 1101). This 'macro-securitization' he posits, was a unifying move by the US with the potential to 'reassert and

legitimise its leadership of global security' (Buzan 2006, 1101–2) and one which has been rather successful.

Balzacq et al (2015) can be invoked here, to consider the importance of context and power dynamics to any securitisation process. The post-9/11 context was one of sympathy for the United States, this was certainly amenable to making audiences at home and abroad more open to assent when the securitising move was made by the securitising actor(s). Furthermore, the nature of the speech act involved, framed the threat in such a way as to make it particularly difficult to refrain from support, without being aligned with 'evil'. Lee Jarvis (2009, 134–35) would add that this particular framing of the speech act also ruptures time, abstracting the war away from considerations of the past, of the present or of the future which might be brought to bear on the audiences' deliberations of support.. The pre-existing power configurations of the political world then, were also important in the success of this securitising move and by extension the creation of the security narrative of terrorism and the War on Terror.

What this section argues thus far is that the War on Terror and the overarching global terrorism narrative to which it belongs, are ultimately based on a Manichaean expression of American exceptionalism. This facilitated the assertion of US authority and the later unilateralism and pre-emption that are key factors of the US grand strategy during this time. Recalling Colucci (2018, 139) once more and the constant character of US grand strategy in relation to exceptionalism, the securitisation of terrorism manifests a number of characteristics identified earlier in this chapter - unilateralism, pre-emption, hegemony, legalism and moral pragmatism. In this case, the exclusion which results from the application of this Manichaean lens, takes place as a result

of terrorism being viewed as an evil associated with the 'Muslim Arab world' at the exclusion of other considerations.

This brings us, finally, to the point where it is possible examine the way the exclusion associated with terrorism interacts with the exclusion which materialised from the application of US exceptionalism to the LAC regions. In this last section, the chapter will argue that one of these exceptions have been privileged in the regional context, ultimately resulting in Trinidad and Tobago remaining invisible in the global narrative on terrorism.

The LAC Regions and the War on Terror

A number of regions grew in relevance to the United States as a result of The War on Terror. The war began in Afghanistan, extended pre-emptively to Iraq and then outwards to areas such as Pakistan and Yemen where military operations have been undertaken via use of drones (Ralph 2013, 46–47). In its other forms, the war on terror can be seen in relations with states such as the Philippines where, in return for joining the coalition, economic and military aid was provided for counter-terrorism capacity building against the Philippines' Islamic separatist groups (Tyner 2005, 8). Africa also grew in relevance in the post-9/11 period and giving rise to regional partnerships such as the Combined Joined Task Force in the Horn of Africa - which was at one point described as 'America's most productive post-9-11 alliance' (Davis 2007, 164).

Comparatively, the LAC region has not received the same type of attention as the rest of the world in the War on Terror. Livingstone (2009, 121) argues that the LAC regions had not been a US priority since the fall of the USSR and became even less so after the terrorist attacks of 2001. Youngers (2003) supports this argument, claiming that while Latin American countries rallied around the US after the attacks – perhaps due to their own experience having experienced the most terrorist attacks in the world for the period 1995-2000 (Munroe 2004, 167–68) - the US Administration largely turned its back on its allies in the region. Indeed, one might argue that the US attitude towards the region was routine at best.

Diplomatically, the US' efforts extended to Latin America with a delegation being sent to the OAS' Inter-American Committee Against Terrorism in March of 2003 for the purposes of improving

technological measures to prevent acts of terrorism in the region. Additionally, in the previous year, the United States participated in a conference in Argentina with the aim of promoting the cooperation in financial-intelligence sharing and prevention of terrorist fundraising initiatives (Lansford, Watson, and Covarrubias 2009, 11). Emerson (2010, 33) argues, that despite these efforts, the narrative has failed to take root in the region as evidenced by regional condemnation of Colombia's 2008 air strikes on Ecuador despite their having been justified in the language of the War on Terror as a pre-emptive move against a terrorist threat.

Trevor Munroe, writing circa 2004, points out that in the meanwhile, 'the Caribbean subregion remained absent from the radar screen tracking global terrorism' (Munroe 2004, 167–68). Munroe posits that the Caribbean is faced with narco-terrorism rather than the type of terrorism with which the global narrative is concerned. He further asserts that even after the attacks on the United States in 2001, the links between terrorism and drugs has been subordinated by what he calls the US' 'preoccupation with homeland security' (Munroe 2004, 169) and so the Caribbean has been neglected. Munroe's point about narco-terrorism now brings the chapter to a place where it can begin to discuss reconciling the dominant hemispheric narrative set by the US for the region – narco-trafficking - and the global hegemonic security narrative of the War on terror.

Munroe's argument is that the regional security narrative of narco-trafficking has become subsumed by a preoccupation with security that is situated within the global security narrative of terrorism. This resonates with other positions in the literature. Wolfgang Muno and Alexander Brand for instance, claim that :

> The Bush Jr administration re-branded the WoD [War on Drugs] as part of the Global War on Terror at the beginning of the twentieth century. In Colombia, for instance, the local guerrillas were first labelled as narco-guerrillas, and later on as a narco-terrorist-alliance.
>
> (Muno and Brand 2014, 383)

Livingstone (2009, 121) and Youngers (Youngers 2003) suggest that as the War on Terror progressed, hemispheric relations drifted apart, as the LAC regions' views diverged increasingly from the US on acceptable 'exceptional measures'. They highlight the alarm at the illegitimacy of the invasion of Iraq, and the questionable legality of the Guantánamo Bay facilities and what took place there, as illustrations of this.

The most relevant example to this work however is the response to a dispute over the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court (ICC). Twelve states within the LAC regions, inclusive of Trinidad and Tobago[2] refused to extend immunity from the ICC to US military personnel within their territories as the US attempted to sidestep being held accountable for what might be considered as war crimes during the War on Terror (Johansen 2006, 311–19). The result of this was that during the period 2003- 2006, the US repeatedly suspended all military aid that was not directly related to narco-trafficking (Livingstone 2009, 121; Johansen 2006, 317). What this example suggests and what this work argues is the opposite to the position advanced by Munroe. The narco-trafficking security narrative persevered above and beyond the need to securitise terrorism in the region.

[2] Trinidad and Tobago typically acquiesces to the desires of the US to protect close trade ties in the energy sector, however having played a leading role in the formation of the ICC and having a sitting judge on the Court, it was unable to legally grant exemption to the US. See Johansen (2006) for more on this.

In making sense of this twist, this work turns to an aspect of discourse analysis which speaks to the idea of *subjugated knowledges*. According to Jennifer Milliken, subjugated knowledges are excluded or silenced discourses which have been made so by the primacy of hegemonic discourse (Milliken 1999, 229–30). This seems particularly relevant in considering the primacy of the regional security narrative of crime as opposed to global security narrative terrorism, however at first glance, it does not explain why the global narrative in this case became subjugated by the regional, despite them both being the product of the same hegemonic thinking by the same hegemon. In resolving this seeming contradiction it is necessary to, as this work argues, go back to the underlying thread which runs through all US hegemonic discourse.

This work takes the position, that the particular exclusionary nature of the global narrative, renders itself necessarily subordinate to the regional discourse by virtue of the role which American exceptionalism has played in each. As this chapter has established American exceptionalism has played a role in the securitisation of terrorism from a neo-Orientalist perspective - within the remit of imaginaries of 'Arab' culture, conflated with the Middle East, additionally conflated with Islam, which is in turn conflated with radical Islam at the expense of other interpretations. The LAC regions do not fall within this securitisation of terrorism. At the same time, the US has historically, consistently imagined the LAC regions primarily as a place of promise and opportunity for the US, except for when it is the site for the production of the regional security threat of narco-trafficking. In the context of a security discussion therefore, the global hegemonic narrative dictates that the LAC regions are not included in US thoughts on terrorism, and they are included in thoughts on narco-trafficking.

The global hegemonic discourse on terror, has in the case of the LAC region, silenced *itself,* subjugating *itself* to the privileging of the regional discourse. Having obtained primacy in the region, the security narrative of narco-trafficking has unexpectedly subsumed discourse on the war on terror such that rather than Muno and Brand's assertion that the War on Drugs was rebranded the War on Terror, in actuality, the War on Terror was integrated into the War on Drugs. This can be seen in the way that these narratives have now merged in security discourse on the region. As Francis and Mauser (Francis and Mauser 2011, 164) put it the War on Drugs' 'objectives and approaches have widened to incorporate the "War on Terror" and the 'evil (drug-producing/immigration-generating) slum to the south' that Castañeda (Castañeda 1990, 471) described as the War on Drugs began, has become the 'Latin American Axis of Evil' led by narco-terrorists (Youngers 2003) in the War on Terror.

How then does this relate to Trinidad and Tobago and its absent narrative? In perhaps the most anti-climactic way ever, and in a way that has little to do with Trinidad and Tobago itself other than for the fact that it is situated within the Caribbean – the part of the LAC regions which is of least interest to the US in general. This chapter has consistently argued that the US, by virtue of its particular brand of exceptionalism, has formulated foreign policy in such a way that the LAC regions are seen as and treated as a monolith – and one which is primarily defined by the Latin American region. Currently, the dominant security narrative for the region has taken primacy over the global security narrative by virtue of that same brand of American exceptionalism. As a result – that global security narrative – terrorism, has been subsumed by the narco-trafficking narrative.

While Trinidad and Tobago does play a role in that regional narrative, it is not as a producer or direct supplier, it is as a transhipment point. It is therefore not even today, central to narco-trafficking narratives or their hybrid narco-terrorism narratives, and even less so before 2016 when reports of Trinidadian jihadis in Daesh began to emerge. Beyond this, one can argue that despite the connections to radical Islam and actual terrorist attacks which were outlined in the introduction to this work, as part of the LAC regional 'lump', these terrorism-related issues did not fit the neo-Orientalist character of the US' global terrorism narrative and were not given due consideration. Consequently, Trinidad and Tobago has, according to the priorities of the global and regional security narratives, had no real reason to be considered as anything beyond a speck, one no different from any other speck making up the LAC region and therefore one requiring no particular attention. The result, has been that radical Islam has flourished invisibly due to the myopia induced by US foreign policy.

This chapter has ultimately shown that trying to explain the absence of Trinidad and Tobago from the global terrorism narrative cannot be done purely by examining that narrative, nor can it be done by looking at looking at the way in which any one US administration has interacted with that state. Rather, the argument here is that one must step back and look at the forest, rather than the trees, as it is indeed the forest which US foreign policy addresses. Chapter 3 is unique in this work for more than one reason. It is the only one which argues for finding detail in generalising where specification is the norm, and it is also the only one which can stand alone in an explanation for the absence of a narrative. Nevertheless, it shall play a role in the following chapter which examines the absence of a domestic narrative. The discussion there, will continue to explore subjugated knowledges, their exclusions and how those exclusions matter in

explaining Trinidad and Tobago's invisible jihadis. This chapter provides the hegemonic narrative which shall be considered in Chapter 4.

In terms of the overarching argument of this work, Chapter 3 also, perhaps more than any other that follows, shows how profoundly our analyses can be affected by our approach to theory within the discipline. The approaches to theorising securitisation which were employed here were undeniably useful, however they became even more so when their insights were read through those offered by Agential Realism, which is not bound by the same concerns or residues of classical philosophy in theorising. It is therefore a satisfying start to this work, which shall carry this rationale forward into a more case-specific chapter, which looks at Trinidad and Tobago specifically.

Chapter 4
Domestic Politics

Once upon a time there was a magic island
Full of magic people.
Let me tell you a story
'Bout their pain and their glory, oh yeah.

Many rivers flowed to this naked isle
Bringing fear and pain
But also a brand new style.
And of all these rivers that shaped this land
Two mighty ones move like a sculptor's hand.
And today those hands, across the land, man, they're still landscaping.
And there's no doubt we go work it out, there is no escaping.
As the river flows there are those who would change its passage.
But every common man got to under-stand up and send a message.
So put up your hand if you understand now.
Come.

See how we moving, watch how we grooving
See how we step in style.
One lovely nation, under a groove
The Ganges come meet the Nile.
Them boys with the hidden agendas, and the mind-benders,
People done take in front.
Various smart-men, and politicians can come along if they want.

David Rudder, The Ganges and the Nile

In Trinidad and Tobago, politics cannot be thought of as separate from culture, culture cannot be thought of as separate from history, and history cannot be thought of as the past. This is the fundamental argument that must be grasped in order to examine the case of Trinidad and Tobago and its absent domestic terrorism narrative. It is also the argument that will remain constant for this and the next two chapters of this work and for that reason, this chapter on domestic politics starts with the lyrics of a calypso song that illustrate this connection.

The music of Trinidad and Tobago has historically been very closely linked to socio-political commentary – something which shall be explored in greater depth in Chapter 5 of this work. This is reflected in the song lyrics above, which speak to several things, each of which is directly relevant to this chapter. Firstly, the lyrics reference the Ganges and Nile rivers 'meeting' in Trinidad - a metaphor for race relations between the two largest ethnic groups in the country – Afro-Trinidadians and Indo-Trinidadians. Secondly, the song points out that these relations have shaped the landscape of Trinidad and Tobago in the past and that they continue to do so in the present – the metaphor of the continuous flow of rivers is particularly apt for showing the continuity of these relations. Finally, the song references those seeking to direct the flow of the rivers - mind benders, politicians, persons with hidden agendas - highlighting the troubled intersections between race relations and politics in Trinidad and Tobago. Implicit in these lyrics, for those familiar with the history of Trinidad and Tobago, is the role that British colonialism played in these race relations and the way that they continue to impact Trinidad and Tobago politics today.

This chapter is going to explore the political culture of Trinidad and Tobago, arguing that tribal politics is so deeply embedded in that culture as a result of the legacy of colonialism, that it results in inefficient governance. These sub-optimal governing practices have, by extension, affected treatment of security issues within that state, which has, in turn, informed the absence of a security narrative for terrorism in Trinidad and Tobago. Additionally, it shall take into consideration the way in which the domestic considerations and the dominant, hegemonic regional security narrative discussed in Chapter 3 intersect such that the securitisation of terrorist threat in Trinidad and Tobago was always unlikely. Finally, this chapter shall look at the way in which other legacies of colonialism – legal and socio-economic

structures that predispose towards exclusion - interact with the political culture, resulting in exclusions which matter in explaining the absence of a security narrative.

Chapter 4

Coloniality and the Absent Domestic Narrative

In writing a commentary for the American Historical Association on the importance of Caribbean history, Lillian Guerra (2014) speaks to her experience of being questioned on the preoccupation of historians with slavery in Haiti, as well as scepticism that Haitians could possibly remember slavery, which ended centuries ago. Guerra speaks to the 'luxury of forgetting' which certain societies - those which benefitted from the institution of slavery, are able to indulge in - while explaining that Caribbean nationals are faced daily with the historical accumulation of the effects and disadvantages of slavery. She does not limit this to slavery, but continues to explain how the entire experience of colonialism is part of the region's living memory. Guerra states:

> Caribbean history matters for the same reason everyone in the Caribbean "remembers" slavery: the legacies of slavery, imperialism, and historical responses to it are, in the Caribbean, immediately evident in all the "weightier" concepts we associate with modernity…it addresses the most fundamental questions of who we are, what we believe, and how we got that way.
>
> (Guerra 2014)

Puerto Rican decolonial scholar, Ramon Grosfoguel, in his commentary on modernity, speaks to the way in which modernity and capitalism are entangled. Grosfoguel (2007, 218) argues

that some states – those which reaped the benefits of slavery and colonialism - were by virtue of their ill-gotten privileges, able to move quickly through time, able to develop, industrialise, 'modernise' such that it was easy to jettison into the future after colonialism ended. The other side of that coin, is that former colonies, robbed of the same opportunities, of their human and natural resources, and burdened by the social and economic institutional legacies of their colonial history, even in the post-colonialism era do not progress at the same rate (Acemoğlu and Robinson 2017).

Linking these perspectives together, one can postulate that time moves more slowly for post-colonial developing nations as colonial legacies are immediately evident and brought to bear on the daily lives of the people. This is no less true of Trinidadian society than of Haitian and it can be seen both politically and socially. That said, the colonial racial hegemony shall be the main apparatus considered in this chapter. It fits Barad's (2007, 147) characterisation of an apparatus in Agential Realism – it is neither a configuration of physical equipment, nor a material object in the world. Rather, it is a discourse embodied in colonial practices which produced, reproduced and continues to shape the aforementioned nexus while in turn transfiguring itself in response to that morphing dynamic, so much so that it has become invisible in the present context.

The past is present in the Caribbean experience at all times and any attempt at analysis which does not give this due consideration will be impoverished - this is strongly reflected in this work throughout this chapter and in the following one. As promised in Chapter 3, this work is haunted by unconventional understandings of time. Whereas the previous analysis of hegemonic security narratives looked at the way in which an enduring ideological thread has

run through US Foreign policy, this chapter looks at the way multiple times can be seen as concurrently forming the present.

It will argue firstly, that the colonial apparatus continues to act upon on Trinidad and Tobago's society invisibly, long after the end of colonialism – much like the mentality of Manifest Destiny has persisted in US foreign policy. In the place where it is perhaps most deeply embedded – the institution of government - it manifests most overtly. The persistence of race-based politics for over one hundred and fifty years, keeps the past so stubbornly present, that the post-colonial government has come to be stymied by its effects. The operations of the state move slowly through time. Concurrently, the world continues to speed ahead, such that the present is made up of time unfolding at different paces. Globalisation has reduced time and space such that interactions with states and issues unencumbered by Trinidad's history, become entangled with that history. Trinidad's material reality is a production of these entanglements, which have led to, in the case of this work the absence of a terrorism narrative.

This is the dynamic underlying much of what this chapter has to offer and with this in mind, this section will now proceed to look at the colonial experience and how it lent itself to the materialisation of a specific political culture within Trinidad and Tobago. It shall do this firstly by examining the way in which the British used exclusion as a means of social stratification and exploring how this facilitated the emergence of tribal politics in the post-colonial setting.

Divide et Impera

'The British enjoyed drawing lines on maps of other countries' - the words of Shashi Tharoor (2017), written while chairing the Foreign Affairs committee of India's parliament. Tharoor was speaking in the context of the partitioning of India prior to the end of colonialism there, while making reference as well to Middle Eastern territories after the First World War. He relates this propensity to partition as part of the British imperial policy *divide et impera* - to divide and rule. Indeed, Tharoor cites the partitioning of India as a manifestation of this strategy, as the British were deeply troubled by the coming together of the Hindu and Muslim populations to revolt against their colonial rule in 1857. Neil Stewart (1951, 49), writing more than half a century prior to Tharoor, endorses this position. He cites Sir John Strachey as supporting stratifications in Indian society along lines of caste and creed, as hostility amongst the people was considered to be one of Britain's political strengths.

For Strachey, 'the growth of any dangerous identity from community of race, religion, caste or local feeling ' (as cited in Stewart 1951, 49) needed to be prevented in order to maintain this power. Similarly, though not on the same scale, the British sought to divide to rule in Trinidad and Tobago when, by virtue of their both being colonies at the same time, Indian indentured labourers were imported into the Caribbean colony to treat with the dearth of manpower after abolition of the slave trade and subsequent emancipation from slavery. Much as Tharoor (2017) finds divide and conquer to have been the most enduring legacy of colonialism in India, Deosaran (1987, 63) says the same of Trinidad and Tobago, as he points to the functional nature of social stratification which exploits multiculturalism, in order to preserve and perpetuate the colonial status quo.

India and Trinidad and Tobago have enjoyed diplomatic relations for approximately 70 years, as its Mission in Port of Spain was established in 1948 – amongst its first after gaining its

independence from British colonial rule. The relationship between the two territories however began about a century earlier when in 1845 East Indian indentureship was introduced to the plantocracy of Trinidad and Tobago (Chand 2017, 143–44). Despite attempts by the landowning elite to control the haemorrhaging of labour in the immediate post emancipation context, they had failed terribly, only retaining 19% of the labour force by a decade after slaves were freed (Tsuji 2008, 1157–61; Reddock 1985, WS79). Whilst still thought of as chattel – referred to as 'cargo' on ships for example (Reddock 1985, WS81–82), the installation of the East Indian population into plantation life was very different to that experienced by the African slaves who came before them.

Despite arriving after emancipation, the indentured labourers did not escape the social ramifications of plantation life. The European elite instituted a deliberate segregation amongst the labourers based on their presumed proximity to whiteness (Munasinghe 2001, 261). There was additional division amongst those who remained a part of the agricultural labour force, stratifying not only the type of work which was done by each group, but also their associated cultural elements (Tsuji 2008, 1158–59). This led to the eventual internalisation of the stereotypes constructed by the European, such that each group began to link their acquired traits to racial and ethnic attributes and consequently, they considered each other to be 'fundamentally and inalterably different' from each other (Tsuji 2008, 1162–65).

Unlike the slaves who went through rigorous processes of deculturisation with the intent of forcing submission, and despite being closely monitored by the administration (Tsuji 2008, 1166), the indentured labourers were not required to give up their identities, culture, family or lives in the process (Tsuji 2008, 156; F. McDonald 1969, 3).They were even allowed to bring

material items with them from India, bundled up into a piece of cloth known as the 'jahaji bandal' (boat bundle). These often contained religious texts, seeds and some clothing – tangible heritage which allowed them to better preserve their intangible heritage (beliefs, customs etc) (Chand 2017, 146–47). By the time a few decades had passed, the restrictions on the Indian community were relaxed and they were able to further develop their communities – even celebrating their religious festivals such as Divali and Holi from as far back as the 1860s.

The Afro-Trinidadian population resented that the Indian immigrant community so successfully reinstituted its cultural identity. There was further resentment amongst the European population as 'English' was the aspired standard to which all were intended to strive. These tensions played out most prominently with the Afro-Trinidadians though, whose antagonisms lay in a distaste for this group who submitted to the plantation system willingly and who were compensated for what they and their ancestors were forced to do under slave conditions. Additionally, the indentured labourers caused a glut in the labour market such that it became even more difficult for the former slaves to find employment in the emancipation context. Meanwhile, the Indian community looked down on the Afro-Trinidadian community as inferior for being outcasts on the bottom rung of society, and for having assimilated somewhat into the culture of the oppressor (Chand 2017, 154; Premdas 1996, 9; Reddy 2011, 145).

As a result of these societal tensions, the Indian community turned inwards, formulating its own groups to look after its own interests such that Chand (2017, 147) claims that a 'miniature India' was formed in Trinidad. Furthermore, in so doing, the Indian community found its niche in agriculture, such that in an attempt to retain the labour force after the terms of servitude

were over, 5-10 acres of land were offered to indentured labourers in lieu of return passage to India between the years 1969 and 1880. By the start of the 20th century, the East Indians became one of the largest land owning classes in the colony (Chand 2017, 149–50). Thusly, seeds of discord were sown between the peasantry of Trinidad on the plantations.

Colonial Trinidad was a society where people and things mattered – especially as people *were* things. The colony was a collection of plantations which, though in the context of this chapter no longer physically chained black bodies to slavery, locked them into a social structure informed by it. Joined by East Indians during the period of indentureship, black and brown bodies were valorised relative to the plantation and relative to white bodies. This nexus of geography and bodies constitute the phenomenon of Trinidadian society in this chapter which shall be seen as intra-acting with the phenomenon of colonial racist hegemony.

At this stage of Trinidadian society, we are able to see the way in which the hierarchy of race and class, constructed by the British was brought to bear on Trinidadian society. Entangled with the bodies present on the island, this racist apparatus enacted agential cuts on the society. Alternative configurations - such as one of mutual recognition of subjugation and a unified population of colour - vanished, as the black and brown communities, components of the phenomenon themselves became transformed, viewing each other through the colonial lens. Trinidadian society in its material becoming, now featured antagonisms between ethnic groups which further played out physically on the plantations as well as in the way that physical communities formed off of the plantations. This manifestation of the society then maintained the colonial status quo, reinforcing the existing racist discourse, but also transfiguring it to include these new dynamics.

Ethnic Discord in Trinidad and Tobago's Politics

The deep chasm running through Trinidad's society has had significant effects on self-governance in the island state, such that the 'plantation model' of race relations (Deosaran 1987, 62), with all of its patterns of dominance and submission transferred from the socio-economic to the political context. In as much as the Indian community's reach grew into the economy of the island, the coloured middle class came to dominate the polity (Premdas 1996, 7–8). This is as a result of the planter-class of Europeans not inheriting power as the nation moved towards colonialism, but rather, the coloured middle-class educated elites, who were prone, if not groomed, to perpetuate the colonial dynamic under the guise of independence (N. T. Duncan and Woods 2007, 205–13; Girvan 2015, 97–99). Trinidad and Tobago's Oxford-educated Dr. Eric Williams was one such elite.

Calls for self-governance grew in the colony in the early 20th Century. During the first few decades of the 1900s there were two different agendas being pushed in that regard. The Indian community was pushing for 'communal' representation based on economic interests, while the Afro Trinidadian and European population favoured a representative government (Deosaran 1987, 66–67). The latter was favoured by the colonial administration, along with an English language requirement for nomination, which immediately incensed the Indian population who felt that they were being excluded. This was a particularly sensitive issue for the Indian community given that their resistance to assimilation and preservation of their culture and language was a fundamental part of their resistance to the colonial project. From the very onset, they therefore felt marginalised in the self-governance structures for Trinidad. This was exacerbated by the fact that Eric Williams successfully rallied a majority of Afro-

Trinidadians behind his nationalist agenda, which, while it spoke to a single Trinidadian identity, still retained underlying tribal influences (Deosaran 1987, 67; Spackman 1965, 284–85).

Eric Williams had a vision for the nation where in order to move forward as an independent state, it would require a 'construction' of a national identity where a 'Mother Trinidad' would replace previous allegiances to Mother China, India, Africa, etc. Under the gaze of Mother Trinidad, all of her children would be equal, and the artificial stratifications of the colonial social structure would be abandoned (Tsuji 2008, 1151). The hybrid 'creolised' values that would emerge from recognising the commonality of colonial subjugation would supplant ethnic cleavages and provide the basis for good governance. Williams believed that this already existed to a degree in certain villages on the fringes of the plantation society and set out to replicate this through a variety of methods, most recognisably in the 'Best Village Competition' which was integrated into the Trinidad Carnival and deliberately encouraged creolisation in performances.

Despite the hubris of creolisation, Williams' words were at times alienating, revealing his Afrocentric bias and deeply Orientalist views. He for example, referred to Indian traditional cultures and customs as 'Oriental primitiveness', which along with their commitment to agriculture, trapped them in lower economic positions (Tsuji 2008, 1153). The competitions reflected this, as there was very little Indo-Trinidadian participation, which meant that the hybridisation process was not taking place as he intended it. Indeed, the Indian community had already established its identity as incommensurable with creolisation, which was deemed the remit of the European and African cultures (Tsuji 2008, 1170–71). Williams' vision for

Trinidad was therefore never realised, and as the Indo-Trinidadian community chose to self-segregate, his politics became representative of the Afro-Trinidadian majority.

Pausing briefly to recall the notion of temporal diffraction discussed in the previous chapter, quantum thinking allows us to conceptualise time beyond just linear terms of individual, identical seconds, each passing before the other can begin. We can think of time as ontologically indeterminate, of the past as continuously unfolding and happening in the present – a bleeding of moments into each other as part of the material world's iterative becoming (Barad 2017, 67–68). As Trinidadian history progressed, from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, the constant intra-action between apparatus and phenomenon continued to produce iterations of Trinidadian society which reproduced certain features as these times bled into each other – a racially divided community was one of them.

As the society moved towards self-governance, the colonial apparatus no longer existed in formal institutions embodied in the British colonial administration. Instead, in its own iterative becoming, the colonial apparatus was rendered invisible after being embedded in the minds of the people – pointing to the way in which apparatuses are themselves produced by the intra-actions in which they are entangled. This idea of the invisible continuity of domination by colonial forms of power even after the end of formal colonial administration is referred to as 'coloniality' (Grosfoguel 2002, 206). Through coloniality, Trinidadian politics remained entrenched in ethnic antagonisms even in the self-governance context.

With this in mind, the chapter now moves from the historical context which eventuated race-based tribal politics in Trinidad and Tobago to the way in which that has been brought to bear on the governance of that nation. This shift in focus towards governance sets the stage for

discussing the way in which security issues are addressed in that state and ultimately, considering the absence of the domestic terrorism narrative for Trinidad and Tobago.

From Discord in Politics to Inefficient Governance

The period from the 1950s to 1986 is known in Trinidadian politics as 'The Williams Era' by virtue of the fact that Eric Williams' People's National Movement (PNM) party remained undefeated from the first election as a colony in the early 1950s, through the series of subsequent general elections after independence in 1962 (Reddy 2011, 194). Williams was consequently the nation's first Premier during colonialism and later its first Prime Minister as an independent state. During that time, he had significant influence on the way in which democracy was shaped in Trinidad and Tobago as there was no credible opposition in any general elections (Spackman 1965, 289). Still unable to compete with the Afro-Trinidadian party, the Indo-Trinidadian community, as a smaller demographic, was moved to silent acceptance and a withdrawal from politics until the PNM regime was ousted after Williams' death (Premdas 1996, 4–5).

What was at play here was coloniality. Despite the move towards self-governance, the presence of the colonial racial hierarchy persevered in Williams' words and attitude towards the Indian community, regardless of his intentions to undertake a decolonising project on the basis of a common history of colonial subjugation. Intra-acting with the divided society, wherein the Indian community had already felt politically excluded in the first instance, colonial racist hegemony continued to magnify fissures in this era resulting in decades of

political exclusion and resentment. Even the partially self-induced character of this exclusion is a product of coloniality. Part of the imperative to divide and rule was to induce a sense of superiority wherein the Indian community was allowed to retain aspects of its identity which encouraged the feeling of cultural incommensurability with the Afro-Trinidadian population. The divided society which had materialised as a result of in intra-action between the invisible colonial apparatus and the Trinidadian society, therefore became mirrored in the politics of the state.

In a 1969 correspondence with the Institute of Current World Affairs in New York, Frank McDonald (F. McDonald 1969) spoke directly to the race issues plaguing Trinidad and Tobago politics, questioning whether the cleavage between the demographics would endanger democracy there. Almost half a century later, as the country celebrated its 50th year of independence, these questions persisted, especially given the implications of the monopoly of the PNM during the Williams era. Commenting on that momentous occasion, Selwyn Ryan references the importance of Williams' renowned political pamphlet 'A Case for Party Politics' for Trinidadian history, however argues that it may be time for a case for coalitional politics, or against two-party politics, given the disservice that party politics has done the country (Ryan 2012, 101–2).

What informs both McDonald's letter, as well as Ryan's opinion on the state of party politics is the integration of the Westminster system of government into British colonies as they moved towards independence. Amongst the essential features of the Independence Pact made between Caribbean states and the British crown were: maintenance of the Monarchy (despite local heads of government, the Queen would remain head of state), entrenchment of the two-party system and preservation of the laws, institutions and symbols of the colonial

state (Girvan 2015, 95–96). Thusly, the Westminster system was adopted; however, as Norman Girvan (2015, 100) has highlighted, transplanting this political system into nations with features such as deep ethnic fissures and practices of social exclusion, resulted not in the system that was intended, but in a contortion which has profoundly affected West Indian politics.

Longstanding concerns about the installation of the Westminster system in Trinidad and other West Indian territories have focused on the way in which it has not only institutionalised, but inflamed tribal politics (Hinds 2006, 35). Ralph Premdas (1996, 4–5) explains that the British parliamentary system is based upon a 'zero-sum competitive party system' which in the context of tribal politics results in the uneven distribution of privileges. He asserts that for democracy to operate effectively, partisan politics must take place under the mandate of an overarching commitment to the general values and beliefs which engender trust between the citizens of a nation (Premdas 1996, 5–6). In the case of Trinidad, this is absent, or at the very least, quite fragile due to the racial cleavages in Trinidadian society, which are mirrored in the political culture.

What has arisen in Trinidad is not a political culture of trust despite differing interests, but rather the entanglement of race and politics, such that control of the government - political power - is seen as the determinant of threat or survival to the country's major ethnic groups (Premdas 1996, 7; F. McDonald 1969, 2; Deosaran 1987, 71). Ralph Premdas (2006, 15) argues that in the current context it is the material interests that seem to be the greater factor than identity, even if identity is used as the premise upon which to make arguments which lead to accessing material resources. This resonates with Girvan's (2015, 101) position that

corruption and 'plundering of state resources' is another main concern regarding the (mal)functioning of the Westminster system.

Accordingly, politics is primarily a site for competition over the distribution of resources to antagonistic ethnic groups, and public spending is linked to the ability to move the benefactors to re-election. Facilitated by a divided society – itself the product of coloniality – this particular character of the Trinidad and Tobago government can be seen as having materialised through the intra-action of the implemented Westminster system and the invisible colonial apparatus. The social and political reality of Trinidad and Tobago can be seen as an assemblage of intra-acting phenomena, all informed by coloniality, such that the nation's politics, history and culture are deeply entangled.

Whether articulated in terms of survival to the ethnic group, or in terms of material gains, power grabbing in Trinidad and Tobago is now a fundamental part of the political culture which has been institutionalised in the local iteration of the Westminster system. Each ethnic group has a vested interest in gaining as much power as possible and retaining that power indefinitely for survival or enrichment. Further to this, Ramesh Deosaran puts forward two hypotheses regarding the party on the losing end of access to socio-economic rewards. He proposes that:

(i) The further removed a cultural group is from the source of socio-economic rewards, the greater the stress factors in that group's attempt to compete and gain access to such rewards.

(ii) The further removed a cultural group is from the source of the socio-economic rewards, the greater the pressures for deculturalisation and the greater the likelihood that negative stereotyping would be used to justify that group's exclusion from social and economic rewards.

(Deosaran 1987, 63)

Following from these hypotheses, we can surmise that in the case of Trinidadian political culture, as much as there is the motivation for those in power to retain it, there is at least as much motivation for those out of power to obtain it. We can additionally see how the self-perpetuating nature of this issue is such that it has remained relevant almost 50 years later from the time of Frank McDonald's writing in 1969. It is on the basis of this perpetual struggle for power, that this work shall now continue to show the effects of tribal, race-based politics on governance and by extension, national security narratives, including those on terrorism.

The Effects of Race-based Tribal Politics on Governance

Anywhere you turn somebody chanting to we
Vote for we and we go set you free
Somebody promising natural law […]
Somebody clean out the weed well fast
But somebody letting the cocaine pass
Somebody promise to abolish the tax
Somebody promise to give we the facts
Somebody promise to clean up the land
But in this clean land, rat still killing man […]
Somebody take 'One Love' off the shelf
Then the 'One Love' boys start to sell out dey self
Somebody going to end all this talk about race
But they can't tell me that with a straight, straight face
Big, big men dying, the crime can't solve
A madman rant is my only resolve

David Rudder, A Madman's Rant

This section begins as this chapter began – returning once more to the calypso music of Trinidad and Tobago. Rudder's social commentary again highlights the focus of this section, by speaking to the continuity of race politics in Trinidad and Tobago and pointing to something which is very little spoken about in the available literature[3] - the *effects* of race politics on Trinidadian governance and society. His lyrics further point to issues of crime, corruption and lack of accountability linked to the destructive political culture, which will be the entryway

[3] By extension, there has been no rationalising of this gap in literature on the politics of the West Indies in the academy even when it has been pointed out. Conversing on this topic with Professor Robbie Shilliam, who has done extensive research on the British Empire in the Caribbean context, he has suggested that the drop in geo-political salience after the British decolonisation period closed off academic interest in the area. Accordingly, when appearing in the literature thereafter, the region is typically framed within topical politics such as CW politics. He believes that it is for this reason that discussion of West Indian politics emerged more through literature (e.g. V.S Naipaul and Derek Walcott) and music (e.g. Bob Marley and David Rudder) than through the academy. This is anecdotal and does not seem to be the topic of any writing emerging from the region either, suggesting that it is perhaps so naturalised within the academy that the exclusion is par for the course.

into discussing how this chapter relates more specifically to security narratives and the absence of a domestic terrorism narrative.

The questionable ability of any sitting government in Trinidad and Tobago to govern for the entire electorate, as opposed to for their own ethnic group, has been cited as problematic for the development of Trinidad and Tobago (Premdas 1996, 10). Although this has been masked by the benefits of an oil based economy, Selwyn Ryan (2012, 106) highlights that some believe that Trinidad and Tobago can be seen as having achieved what it has in spite of rather than because of party politics. Given the relative lack of research on the contemporary politics of the region in general and on Trinidad in particular (N. T. Duncan and Woods 2007, 203; Lowenthal 1983, 159), this work is largely left to piece this argument together from suggestions which run alongside the main focus of other scholarship on the presence ethnic conflict in politics rather than the effects of said conflict.

Trinidad and Tobago (and most of the Caribbean) are amongst the few former British colonies which have sustained democracy for the entire of their existence as independent states (N. T. Duncan and Woods 2007). Despite its small size, Trinidad and Tobago has additionally been one of the stronger economies in the region by virtue of its natural resources in the energy sector. How then can one make the claim that its political culture has gotten in the way of its development? Kirk Meighoo (2009) addresses this effectively by collating what empirical evidence does exist and highlights that the *quality* of Trinidad and Tobago's democracy is highly questionable and this in fact does affect development. He argues that Trinidad and Tobago does not reflect two-party governance but rather a 'one-party dominant system' which, though achieved in a democratic setting of free and fair elections results in an unhealthy democracy and a dangerous setting (Meighoo 2009, 21–25).

Meighoo's argument shows yet another iteration of the governing system of Trinidad and Tobago, eventuated by the legacy of colonialism. The Westminster system, intra-acting with the political culture of a deeply divided society, informed by coloniality has materialised a version – or a contortion, to invoke Girvan's (2015, 100) description - of that system. The highly competitive, race-based Trinidadian political culture - itself a materialisation of the effects of racist hegemony on society - has become entangled with the phenomenon that is the institution of government. Acting as an apparatus, it has enacted agential cuts on the Westminster system, transforming it from a two-party system in its initial state, to a one-party dominant system in the Trinidadian context. In so doing, the system of government has become particularly amenable to the highly competitive tribal party-politics of Trinidad and Tobago. At the same time, this intra-action has again, transfigured the apparatus, such that the race-based political culture has become embedded in the parliament – institutionalised once more as it had been in colonial times, even if invisible.

In elaborating the dangers of one-party dominance, Meighoo identifies three hazards: a weakened parliament, blurring of the boundaries between ruling party and government as well as vulnerability and powerlessness of dissenting minorities. It is the first two of these which are particularly relevant to this part of the discussion. In problematising the weakened parliament, Meighoo explains that the absence of a meaningful opposition effectively renders the parliament a rubber stamp, where the majority position of one party often gives it default success in voting contexts. He explains further that where the lines between party and government become blurry, it not only breeds alienation and resentment from those outside of that party's support base but it breeds institutional corruption amongst party supporters (Meighoo 2009, 25–26). The absence of effective checks and balances as well as clearly

defined boundaries are therefore exclusions which have emerged as a result of the agential cuts enacted in materialising the one-party dominant system and as Meighoo continues to explain – exclusions that matter in defining the quality of Trinidadian democracy.

The 'resource curse' is a concept which Meighoo (2009, 28–30) links to these hazards and which also links to understanding how development is impeded by these hazards. He explains that the abundance of revenue which has been enjoyed by Trinidad and Tobago by virtue of its oil and gas reserves, masks developmental issues arising out of poor governing. Closer attention reveals that the country continues to experience concerns of a nature typically associated with countries of much lower income brackets. Meighoo gives a long list of examples of problems which he believes have emerged as a result of the race-based, one-party dominant system of government in Trinidad - 'crime, infrastructure, education, inequality, health, basic utilities, poverty, education and governance' (Meighoo 2009, 28) .

On unpacking Meighoo's argument, the implication is that ineffective governance has given rise to these socio-economic problems in so far as the administrations have been unable to translate national wealth into collective human development. This can be illustrated by comparing Trinidad and Tobago and Barbados, its regional neighbour. Despite having at least three times (sometimes four) the annual GDP of Barbados and a relatively small difference in per capita GDP, Barbados has consistently outranked Trinidad and Tobago on the Human Development Index for the last 2 decades (UNDP 2018, 26–27). Whilst it is unclear as to whether this has occurred as a result of weak policy making in the 'rubber stamp' context, as a result of corrupt practices, or both, this does seem to vindicate Meighoo's position that one-party dominant, race-based governance is negatively impacting development.

Attached to the resource curse is the idea of patronage. This refers to the government's reach in terms of redistributing the wealth of the nation and the power dynamics which emerge as a result. Premdas (2006, 30) as well as Duncan and Woods (2007, 211–13) recognise that in Trinidad this is closely linked to dependency syndrome and retaining the support of the ethnically divided electorate, however Meighoo takes the elaboration even further. He asserts that because the economy and the society rely greatly upon the revenues of the oil-based economy, controlled largely by the state, the government has a dominant role in both of these spheres, giving it immense power.

Not only is there a very large public sector in Trinidad, but the state redistributes wealth gained from the energy sector to the private sector via fiscal policies such as subsidies as well as the purchase of goods and services to facilitate the running of the sizeable public sector. Resultantly the head of government and their parliamentary cabinet are endowed with 'immense powers of patronage from high-level executives and professionals to casual labours and unskilled workers, to private sector businesses…' (Meighoo 2009, 30). This means that there is scope for extensive corruption, which incentivises the continuation of poor governing practices for government members. It also incentivises citizens who stand to gain from the patronage of the government to not oppose their actions. The government can therefore count on a significant portion of the population not holding them accountable for their actions such that – to reference Rudder's lyrics once more – even in such a supposedly 'clean' land, 'rats' (as opposed to humans) are somehow out there killing people.

To add weight to this argument, Meighoo (2009, 26) compares international rankings on democracy, asserting that the ethnically informed one-party dominance of Trinidadian government has negatively affected these rankings. He cites The Economist Intelligence Unit's

2007 Democracy Index, which characterised Trinidad as a flawed democracy. In the 2018 report, Trinidad and Tobago retains that characterisation – its lowest scoring being for political culture – 5.63 of a possible 10 (The Economist Intelligence Unit 2019, 20). He additionally looks at the Freedom in the World Report for 2008, which classifies Trinidad and Tobago as 'Free'; however, it is only given a rating of 2 out of 7 for its freedom rating. In 2019, this remains the case – with political rights also rating at 2 out of 7 (Freedom House 2019). Meanwhile, Trinidad's ranking on Transparency International's Corruption Perceptions Index was at the time of his writing 72nd out of 180 – a decade later and it has dropped to 78th out of 180 (Transparency International 2018).

As the updated figures continue to reflect impaired governance in Trinidad and Tobago, and given the fact that race-based politics continue to define governance there, it is not an unreasonable claim that development continues to be impeded by this legacy of colonial politics. We can add to this, the previous assertion that regardless of these negative effects on the Trinidadian society, large segments of the population (especially along ethnic divisions) stand to gain from keeping any given party in power and may choose to overlook poor governance such that they are unlikely to question narratives put forward to any significant extent. Meanwhile, cognisant of the consummate competition for power, any ruling party has a vested interest in avoiding any narrative which makes it appear vulnerable to criticism by the opposition and the opposition has an equally vested interest in delegitimising the incumbent administration to take power for itself.

As this may still seem somewhat abstract and speculative, we can turn to the work of Darius Figueira (2010), who in examining the dynamics of racist hegemony in politics, offers some useful examples from parliamentary sittings. The first example is relatively mundane – a

debate in the House of Representatives on the Emergency Ambulance Service Bill. This bill was being debated in July of 2009 as an act meant to register emergency health care providers as part of the establishment of a National Emergency Ambulance Authority.

In his contribution to debating the bill, one member of parliament (MP), Dr. Tim Gopeesingh (an Indo-Trinidadian) made a claim, without any evidence, that ethnic cleansing of the Indo-Trinidadian medical staff at the Port of Spain General Hospital was taking place, such that it had become 'a virtual African hospital'. In his response to the MP, the Prime Minister, Patrick Manning (an Afro-Trinidadian) responded not by neutralising the discourse in condemnation of any such acts and offering assurances that they would be investigated and prosecuted accordingly, but by dismissing it as inappropriate discussion for the parliament. Figueira (2010, 184) points out how this served only to inflame the racial tensions, and distract from the actual matter at hand. What one can begin to discern from this example is how routine politics in Trinidad and Tobago can instantly be marred and derailed by race-based agendas meant to delegitimise the party in power. It is also notable that the reaction of the Prime Minister was not to address, but to dismiss or remove from debate, the point of contention that challenged his administration.

Another, more security-related example can be taken from two years prior, in 2007, as a Senate sitting focused on the government's treatment of the crime situation. In response to one senator from the ruling party framing the crime issue within the context of drug-related violence, an opposition senator, Harry Persad Mungalsingh, claimed that crime was concentrated in certain PNM (therefore black) constituencies and that a response needed to take into consideration the 'social structure' of said communities. His plan included a change

in abortion laws and cash incentives for voluntary sterilisation along with exposure to drama, art and classical music (Figueira 2010, 178–79) [4].

In both of these instances, ethnicity was invoked in the legislative context of the Trinidad parliament, interrupting the governance process in such a way as to derail focus on the actual issue, redirecting it towards identity politics, intended to disrupt and ultimately usurp power. In the first example, we can see how this can relate to material interests, while in the second, it is obvious how it can be linked to the more fundamental interest of survival. Looking therefore at the way in which historically inherited perceptions of ethnicity have been used the parliamentary setting – that is to say the way which history has intersected with culture and politics - one can begin to imagine why any incumbent administration in Trinidad and Tobago might be unwilling to politicise an issue as incendiary as terrorism. Indeed, this chapter shall now argue that any Trinidad and Tobago government is more likely to attempt to depoliticise a security issue rather than securitise it.

[4] These examples both show responses towards PNM administrations however, this does not mean to suggest that there is any shortage of race-based discourse in the other direction. This is more likely to be seen outside of the parliament however and during campaign times than in parliament. As the PNM has been the governing party for the majority of Trinidad and Tobago's statehood, having won 11 of the country's 15 general elections from 1956 to the present, it is less likely to try to upset its own agenda in parliament than the opposition is.

Political Culture and Securitisation in Trinidad and Tobago

Despite its practical utilitarian nature, securitisation presents itself as bearing the potential for far reaching political consequences – this is particularly true for Trinidad and Tobago. The Copenhagen School does not regard security or securitisation to be 'an unambiguously positive value' (M. C. Williams 2003, 523). Wæver discusses the political implications of securitisation insofar as potentially militarising our approach to certain issues by facilitating their social construction as a threat/defence problem – issues which may be better addressed from a different perspective (Wæver 1995). He asserts instead that one of the main characteristics of the Copenhagen School is its recognition of this fact and its position that 'most often our aim should be to limit the rhetoric of security and its accompanying politics of exceptions and emergencies' (Wæver 2004a, 13). Desecuritisation then, can be seen as 'the reverse of securitization, whereby issues are being moved out of the exceptional status, back into the normal policy making realm' (Floyd 2007, 48).

This normative position finds its roots partly in the notion of securitisation as being outside of the realm of conventional politics. Matt MacDonald explains that within the Copenhagen doctrine, where politics is considered to implicitly facilitate 'the possibility for more open engagement and dialogue' (M. McDonald 2008, 566), security and securitisation is characterised as its antithesis – the failure of politics. This though, does not seem to fit neatly with our case, where, as demonstrated throughout this chapter so far, politics cannot be considered as

facilitating dialogue of that nature. Indeed, it would appear instead that failed politics has become the default in the context in which it is meant to be most constructive.

It can be argued that what has happened in Trinidad, is that the ethnic groups which comprise competing political factions, have in fact securitised each other, within the sphere of their own support bases. Political leaders and their mouthpieces have historically been securitising actors. Their securitising moves have constituted othering, based on racial stereotyping, steeped in the colonial mentality afforded them by the legacy of British colonialism, though contextualised in modern circumstances. The exceptional measures which they seek to put in place – if we return to the example of the Senate sitting on crime offered above – are the kind which require power, such that power seeking or power grabbing is a primary concern. This then resonates entirely with Deosaran's (1987, 63) two hypotheses presented earlier in this chapter – that those furthest away from the resources are likely to compete the hardest for them and that negative racist stereotyping is likely to be used to justify exclusion.

For Trinidad and Tobago then, the Copenhagen School's understanding of desecuritisation holds as what would be best for society in theory. Nevertheless it is not, in practice, the standard which political actors are aiming for in Trinidad. Rather than desecuritise each other, political parties have a vested interest in treating each other as a threat. Incumbent governments are always attempting to avoid the politicisation of any issue, but especially of security issues which will threaten their power, and access to resources. Interesting insights into this can be gained from looking at respondents' answers to research undertaken for this study. The research was undertaken over ten days in July of 2018 in the form of an electronic questionnaire which

solicited opinions from Trinidadians both in Trinidad and in the diaspora. It was disseminated via social media platforms as well as through an email mailing list service and received 123 responses[5].

Three questions asked in the questionnaire are pertinent to this discussion. Question 23 asks respondents whether they believe that the previous People's Partnership government took the threat of terrorism seriously. Question 24 asks the same question of the incumbent PNM government. Meanwhile Question 27 asks whether respondents whether they believe that the incumbent PNM government ought to be taking terrorism more seriously. The responses to these questions, shown in Appendix I, suggest that regardless of the Administration in power, people generally found that little has been done outside of the routine legislative action identified in the introduction to this work.

Even keeping in mind that national security measures are not advertised to the public for good reason, very little was shared in terms of reassuring the public that *something* was being done - at the community-building level for example. Responses to all three questions such as 'they never openly addressed it as an issue' (Appendix I, p2), 'Nothing was visible' (Appendix I, p2), 'It does not seem to be a focus to make the population aware of the fight…' (Appendix I, p5), 'They seem to be in denial that it is even an issue' (Appendix I, p5) and 'Is there anything to suggest the government are not in denial about terrorism (amongst other things)?' (Appendix I, p8) do seem

[5] Ethical approval for this research was received in June 2017. The approval letter can be found directly before to Appendix I of this work.

to suggest that there was no discourse developing around treating with the problem, even in the expected and warranted absence of tactical details.

Meanwhile, other responses to these same questions point to the type of politics which this work advances as being the norm in Trinidadian political culture. This can be seen in responses to questions 23 and 24: 'They dismantled rather than build on the systems that were in place' (Appendix I, p2), 'I don't think they took anything seriously except lining their pockets' (Appendix I, p2), 'No government takes anything other than their own agenda seriously', 'They played the blame game, spouted rhetoric and did nothing to increase national security' (Appendix I, p5). It can further be seen in response to question 27: 'They need to take crossing the road more seriously, so yes - terrorism becomes part of the everything they need to take more seriously' (Appendix I, p8).

The responses to these questions support this work's assertion that regardless of which political party is in power, governance in Trinidad and Tobago is impaired. Given that these questions were asked specifically about terrorism, they also suggest that this argument carries over into the way in which that the threat of terrorism has been addressed in Trinidad and Tobago. It is therefore not completely the product of imagination to suggest that the absence of a domestic terrorism narrative for Trinidad and Tobago is not a coincidence, or an oversight, but rather a deliberate choice made by administrations.

Paraphrasing from Wæver's discussion on options that policy makers might adopt in order to desecuritise or to try to keep issues desecuritised (Wæver 2000, 253–54), Bezen Balamir-Coskun (2011, 19) identifies the three actions. Firstly, avoiding talking about issues in security terms;

secondly, avoid creating security dilemmas involving the issue being desecuritised; and finally, actively downgrading the issue such that it returns to the realm of orthodox politics. In the case of Trinidad and Tobago, security issues are not being desecuritised so much as they are being de-politicised – that is to say that in terms of securitisation as process whereby an issue is transformed along a continuum of non-politicised to politicised to securitised (Buzan, Wæver, and Wilde 1998, 23–24). The Trinidadian case does not find utility in moving from securitised back to politicised, but rather, from politicised to non-politicised. If we therefore consider the Wæver's desecuritisation options once removed, we can see how they apply to this case.

Starting with the second suggestion – avoidance of security dilemmas involving the issue – this is perhaps the strongest explanation for the absence of a domestic terrorism narrative in Trinidad and Tobago. By avoiding any public articulation of terrorism as a problem either domestically or as part of an international problem like Daesh, the issue remains invisible, even if the government is aware of it and might (or might not) be addressing it. If the issue remains invisible, there is no reason to speak of it in security or any other terms. In the case of Trinidad, once the news of Daesh recruitment became public, this was unavoidable.

Nevertheless, what did emerge as a result of the issue coming to the fore was legislation and international cooperation – a visual framing of the issue in legislative terms and global governance terms as opposed in security terms. In the meanwhile, only three press releases were ever made by the Ministry of National Security regarding the issue[6]. Whilst international news outlets carried news on US forces having assisted in foiling a terrorist plot on the 2018 Trinidad

[6] The Ministry's website which archives all press releases only indicates 3 pieces of correspondence with the public. See http://www.nationalsecurity.gov.tt/Media-Center/News

Carnival, with the US, Canada and the UK issuing travel advisories that terrorist attacks were likely during the Carnival, local news sources were reporting on the international media reports rather than having had any initial coverage themselves (CNC3 2018b). Whilst CNN was reporting that they had official confirmation that US military personnel from US Southern Command took part in the raids, local officials sought to minimise perceptions of foreign involvement and encourage the Carnival revelry. One business association commented in a press release on the 'vagueness and opacity' of the government's response, arguing that 'We should not be promoting uncertainty' (CNC3 2018a).

Such control of the issue allowed for it to be addressed in ways that minimised the ability for detractors to use it as an opportunity to delegitimise to government and allowed for supporters to retain confidence. Indeed, even the encouragement of the population to resume their Carnival celebrations was an attempt to actively downgrade the issue to the non-politicised. Balamir-Coskun (2011, 20) explains that security issues can be either transformed or managed; management of a security issue does not resolve or eliminate the threat, but merely creates a sense of normality despite the presence of the securitised threat. Indeed it would appear that the culture of Trinidadian politics is to 'manage threats' which might pose a danger to the incumbent party's ability to retain power.

Jennifer Milliken speaks to the notion of discourse productivity and its reproductive ability in operationalising a regime of truth which necessarily excludes other possible alternatives. It functions in selectively privileging some and not others with narrative license, while also defining appropriate responses towards the object of the discourse (Milliken 1999, 236). Extending from

this notion of discursive productivity, Milliken speaks about common sense as a recurrent theme, positing that:

> Discourses produce the common sense(s) of societies, limiting possible resistance among a broader public to a given course of action, legitimating the state as a political unit and creating reasonable and warranted relations of domination.
>
> (Milliken 1999, 237)

For the government of Trinidad and Tobago then, the identity of the nation as a 'state without terrorist threat' is a 'social good' (Gee 2011, 5) to be obtained by retarding the development of a domestic narrative on terrorism and promoting discourse of Trinidad and Tobago as safe from terrorism and safe for Carnival in particular.

This social good possesses value on both a domestic level and a broader scale at the system level. Promoting discourse that gives the appearance of a 'safe state' protects Trinidad and Tobago from negative international attention which could pose economic and diplomatic threats to the small nation and the wider Caribbean region – a main concern of the electorate. It will also allow the nation to protect a 'Trinidadian Identity' which shall be explored in the following chapters. Furthermore, and most relevant to this chapter, the safe-state discourse produces a 'common sense', legitimising the state as being in control of security issues, and limiting resistance from the public, as well as political opponents, by controlling who is licensed to contribute to the narrative.

The work on securitisation obviously has much to offer this analysis. Yet, it is important to note that it only becomes meaningful in the context of understanding the politics of the state, and

how that is deeply entangled with history and culture. Indeed, Balzacq (2005, 171–73) argues that context and psychocultural considerations are an important part of theorising securitisation. In this case, they are considerations related to the mutual securitisation of ethnic groups (symbolised by political parties) which in turn relates to the intentional de-politicising of security issues. Even so, the depth of this analysis was only possible by virtue of an approach which allowed the insights of securitisation to be read through the insights gained from a more profound look at the entanglements of culture, politics and history than approaches to securitisation could have afforded this work.

Impact of Contemporary International Politics On the Domestic

This chapter has argued thus far, that in the domestic space, successful securitising moves are unlikely as the one-party dominant system government in Trinidad and Tobago is not prone to legitimising threats which may make them politically vulnerable. Rather, they are inclined to de-politicise in order to reduce threats to maintenance of power, in line with material and survival interests along ethnic divisions. The race-based, power-grabbing political culture which informs this tendency is a product of coloniality – the way in which colonial forms of domination persist in the post-colonial context. This work argues that this particular manifestation of coloniality – the racist imaginary - has resulted in a context where despite sustained democracy and resource wealth, the country has moved through time slowly, unable to cut the restraining tether to the stagnation of colonialism.

Taking time as ontologically indeterminate, this chapter posits that outside of Trinidad and Tobago – particularly in more developed regions – the world moves at a different pace, on different timelines informed by different contexts. These varied histories overlap – temporal entanglements - whereby the past is happening in the world's present material becoming. Chapter 3 of this work examined the way in which the United States' hegemonic security narratives continually move forward, propelled by their historical experience, which has been informed by American exceptionalism. It considered how this resulted in specific narratives being formed for the Latin America and Caribbean (LAC) regions and how these narratives have resulted in Trinidad and Tobago being framed as part of one very specific type of threat to the United

States in the contemporary context – part of the narcotrafficking problematique. It is the entanglement between the US hegemonic narrative and the Trinidadian political context, which this chapter shall now consider, as it seeks to explain the absence of a domestic narrative for terrorism in Trinidad and Tobago.

Chapter 3 of this work concluded with the position that the nature of the global hegemonic discourse on terrorism was such that when applied to the LAC regions, it subordinated itself to the regional security narrative of the War on Drugs. Consequently, even in the face of the War on Terror being the primary security concern for the United States, it is still narcotrafficking and related transnational organised crime that is considered to be the threat which the LAC regions host. Concerns about terrorism are embedded within the regional security narrative, revealing hybrid concerns such as narco-terrorism, however the trade in illicit narcotics and associated illicit trade, such as in small arms and humans remains the focus.

Within this chapter, the hegemonic narrative serves as an apparatus which intra-acts with the phenomenon of securitisation within Trinidad and Tobago. As an apparatus, it fits Barad's (2007, 147) criteria in that it is neither a physical configuration of equipment, nor is it a material object in the world. It is a discourse embodied in hegemonic practices which has produced, and continues to reproduce the character of existential threat in the region while also being transformed by the shifting nature of the War on Drugs. The phenomenon of securitisation in this case constitutes the Trinidad and Tobago government, the bodies which constitute that government (insofar as the racist imaginary is embedded in that institution) and the islands'

communities – bodies and spaces which are the recipients of any outcomes of successful securitisations.

As previously established, any government of Trinidad and Tobago has a vested interest in avoiding securitisation for their own longevity. The trend is towards management of threat – the appearance of normality despite the presence of threat - a situation of persistent insecurity rather than security. We can recall Meighoo (2009, 28) identifying crime as one of the domains in which Trinidad has been underperforming and which he attributes to the race-based one-party dominant governance. It is therefore unsurprising that administrations tend to avoid narratives of crime, as the persistence of this problem would make them vulnerable to opposition and losing power. This however changes when a hegemonic security narrative is introduced.

Thinking in terms of the securitisation process, we necessarily remember Balzacq, Leonard and Ruzicka (2015, 504) who argue that it is necessary to take into consideration the latent power dynamics of that process. The United States, in its capacity as regional hegemon, has securitised the illicit drug trade and situated the source of the threat within the LAC regions. Aside from their domestic enabling audiences, the US could only enact their War on Drugs in cooperation with the sovereign states of the LAC region and therefore these states too form legitimising audiences. Recalling that Chapter 3 outlined various methods of coercion which were associated with the War on Drugs, it is easy to understand how the superpower's influence was brought to bear on the perlocutionary effects of the securitisation process and the subsequent success of the securitising move. By extension, the domestic context of Trinidad and Tobago would have necessarily been affected by this securitisation.

This work argues that crime in Trinidad has, as a result of the overarching security narrative of the region, been framed in the terms of that organised crime. Gang violence, violent crime, drug related crime have all been securitised in Trinidad within the nexus of the organised crime narrative which spans the LAC regions. The securitisation from 'above' allows for the domestic situation to be framed in a manageable way – such that it is possible for the state to show international cooperation as being a pro-active move on their part, deflecting dangerous criticism. Indeed, the interlinkages between crime, violence and drugs are not insignificant in Trinidad and whether intentional or unintentional, the drug-related crime narrative has become the default narrative invoked when discussing the issue.

Thinking through this intra-action, one can argue that the War on Drugs narrative has intra-acted with the securitisation processes within Trinidad such that in terms of crime, they are now reversed – no longer moving towards de-politicisation but towards securitisation once more. Additionally, by virtue of the character of the narco-trafficking nexus, the particular iteration of securitisation which has emerged in Trinidad has articulated much of the country's crime in terms of drug-related crime. Recalling that agential cuts within an intra-action materialise one outcome at the expense of other outcomes, in this case, the War on Drugs narrative has enacted cuts upon the securitisation process within Trinidad such that it produced securitisation of crime as conflated with drug-related crime.

This chapter promised to examine the legacy of colonialism in the political culture of Trinidad and the way it relates to governance and by extension securitisation. It also promised to look at the way that domestic securitisation processes are entangled with hegemonic security narratives. It

has thus far done both of these things. It shall now proceed to fulfil its last promise – to look at other forms of coloniality that have led to exclusions, which reinforce securitisation along the lines of drug-related crime, at the expense of the development of other security narratives – such as one regarding terrorism. It will argue that these exclusions rendered invisible the circumstances which may have pointed towards the potential for radicalisation. To explore this further, it is necessary to take a deeper look at a different aspect of the phenomenon in question – the more material aspects of it – the communities which make up Trinidad and more specifically the way in which they have been criminalised.

Securitisation and Criminalisation

The literature on securitisation reveals very few linkages to criminalisation. The most commonly referenced link between the two concepts regards the securitisation of asylum and the criminalisation of migration. This has of course in recent years come to the fore as a serious issue in Europe and the term covers a very broad expanse of interrelated activity which includes but is not limited to:

> all the discourses, facts and practices made by the police, judicial authorities, but also local governments, media, and a part of the population that hold immigrants/aliens responsible for a large share of criminal offences.
>
> (Parkin 2013, 1)

Migration is of particular interest to the Paris School; Didier Bigo explains that the securitisation of migration is also a reflection of the fears governments hold of losing their symbolic power and control over their territory, as well as the interests of the security professionals who contribute significantly to the securitising discourse (Bigo 2002, 65).

While securitisation in the context of this discussion of Trinidad and Tobago does not take migration or migrants as its existential threat, focusing instead on endogenous marginalised communities which have been identified as crime 'hot spots', there are similarities which can be drawn between the situations. Parkin's (2013) definition of the securitisation of migration can easily be transposed upon the Trinidadian context with a mere substitution of 'crime hot spots' for 'immigrants/aliens' while Bigo's (2002) argument explains why the government might have engaged in this type of securitisation. Although the securitisation literature does not lend itself to making a broader connection between securitisation and criminalisation, the field of criminology does provide us with a starting point for undertaking one such discussion by helping us to make preliminary links between issues of socioeconomic marginalisation and criminalisation, allowing for a discussion how that has can be brought to bear on the securitisation process.

Criminalisation is a public policy tool which is intended to address conduct which has been deemed as harmful to society. In terms of legislature, it is concerned with the formulation of what constitutes a criminal offense and the subsequent punishment when transgressions are made. This by extension links to endowing state agencies with power for the purposes of crime prevention (McNamara et al. 2018, 92). John Muncie argues that a critical understanding of this

concept is crucial insofar as there are hidden dynamics involved which make it very controversial. These relate to questions of who has the power to define deviance, who consequently gets to determine when a transgression has taken place such that a deviant can be so labelled, and the potential effects of labelling (Muncie 2008, 14). It is very much these hidden dynamics which have allowed for another form of coloniality to be brought to bear on this discussion – institutionalised social exclusion.

Jeannine Purdy finds that in Trinidad, race and ethnicity have failed to be contiguous with criminalisation; both Afro- and Indo-Trinidadians having experienced periods of disproportionate representation in the prison system at different times in history. Purdy continues to explain that history has however revealed a more constant dimension to the criminalisation process – an economic one (Purdy 1996, 38). She asserts that criminalisation relies on criteria far beyond whether an individual has committed a harmful act; criteria which includes the aforementioned race and ethnicity in addition to class – all of which she posits are co-related. Socio-economic class is pointedly described in her work as a well-known and widely recognised criterion relevant to criminalisation (Purdy 1996, 40–43). It is also one which, as elaborated earlier in this chapter was constructed as part of the European racist imaginary.

Purdy discusses how the legacy of British colonialism in Trinidad has informed patterns of criminalisation of the marginalised coloured population – answering the question of the 'who has the power?' in Muncie's critique. This process began through the British upholding the Spanish colonial laws against slave resistance in the 18th Century and continued into the 19th Century in a different form after abolition of the slave trade and emancipation. At this time the legal system

shifted to one which criminalised activities such as squatting, idleness and vagabondage, with the intent of criminalising ex-slaves trying to leave the plantations. It changed yet again in the 1840s when Britain granted Trinidad a legislature of its own and the laws of Britain replaced Spanish law on the island (Purdy 1996, 52–53). Criminalisation has therefore, historically been very closely entangled with black bodies and their physical situatedness in Trinidad.

Under British law, legal discrimination on racial grounds was prohibited, however, in practice the system which existed during the days of slavery continued, as outlined earlier in this chapter. In the post-slavery era, labour regulations were enforced by criminal law such that East-Indian indentured labourers and working class Afro-Trinidadians and Africans were disproportionately criminalised for labour violation. Overall the effects of these legal implications were felt most strongly by 'the urban underclass of poor blacks' (Purdy 1996, 53).

Michelle Mycoo, a specialist in urban planning, endorses this notion of the colonial legacy of 'more than two centuries of systematic socio-spatial segregation' (Mycoo 2006, 135). She discusses this in the more recent post-colonial context, explaining the way in following the country's 1962 independence it was reinforced by the newly formed government's inability to redistribute wealth amongst its population, such that despite increase in employment

> an acute sense developed among the lower income groups, and especially among the urban black population, that the benefits of growth were bypassing them.
>
> (Mycoo 2006, 135)

Meanwhile the local elite, or as she describes them, the traditional gatekeepers to wealth, secured their own interests and retreated into distinct communities, further delineating this

socioeconomic marginalisation. Socio-spatial segregation therefore is a form of coloniality – the often invisible persistence of colonial forms of domination in the post-colonial context. Mycoo further explains that in the post-structural adjustment period of 1989 onwards, this was even more deeply ingrained as the austerity measures had facilitated widespread unemployment and poverty which disproportionately affected these marginalised communities (Mycoo 2006, 135–36).

In support of this, the World Bank attributes marked increases in crime and violence to poverty trends during the time of structural adjustment, highlighting that 'although individuals of all socio-economic groups are affected, the urban sector is particularly vulnerable to these social problems' (J. Baker 1996, 9). This chasm was further widened by the recovery of the economy in the early 21st Century due to an oil boom which enabled the social mobility of the middle class, yet failed to trickle down to the least privileged (Mycoo 2006, 136–37).

Black bodies can therefore be seen as entangled with poverty, constructed criminality and social, as well as spatial exclusion – a situation characterised by a combination of material and ideational factors. It is important to note that this is the context which set the stage for the two important events outlined in the introduction to this work – the first coup attempt, rooted in the post-colonial black power movement and the later 1990 coup by the Jamaat al Muslimeen. These events, as previously explained were respectively described as indicators for potential terrorist activity and actual terrorist activity, which shows the potential link between socioeconomic marginalisation, historical criminalisation and radicalism in Trinidad and Tobago.

Selwyn Ryan et al (2013, 26), investigated at-risk youth in Trinidad and Tobago, and recognised the role that this legacy continues to play in the state's current crime situation. They explain that the way in which the past has unfolded has led to concentrations of crime and violence in urban areas of the state, primarily amongst Afro-Trinidadians. These areas later found themselves labelled as crime hot spots. Ryan et al define a crime hot spot as an area containing dense clusters of criminal incidents. These areas may be extended to include those adjacent to the one in which the crime is concentrated and where incidents occur on a relatively frequent basis (Ryan et al. 2013, 20).

The Trinidad and Tobago Police Force identified 52 'hot spots' which were used by Prime Minister Kamala Persad Bissessar in 2011 in her justification for and execution of a State of Emergency (SOE) (Ryan et al. 2013, 94–95). The SOE, she claimed, was necessary as a result of the surge in crime which was eventuated by the government having seized large amounts of narcotics during tactical operations (Ragoonath 2011). Therefore, in coming full circle, the exclusionary nature of the securitisation process in Trinidad as informed by its entanglement with the hegemonic security narrative, has led to securitisation of crime which privileges interpretations of criminal activity as drug related. This interpretation in turn, has rendered invisible, circumstances comparable to those which have historically led to radicalisation in Trinidad. This work is now well positioned to show how this can be linked to the threat of Trinidadian jihadis radicalising undetected in the state.

The most thorough examination of radical extremism in Trinidad and Tobago to date is likely that of John McCoy and Andy Knight. Indeed, these researchers reveal in their article *Homegrown*

Violent Extremism in Trinidad and Tobago: Local Patterns, Global Trends that government officials informed them that they had not even begun collecting intelligence on this issue until 2013 (McCoy and Knight 2016, 279) and as argued in the introduction to this thesis – there has been very little scholarly research on security in the Caribbean, far less for terrorism. These authors draw on terrorism studies to explain that Daesh, not unlike al Qaeda, is best conceived as a social movement which has amassed influence and territory 'through exploiting underlying human insecurity in weak and failed states' (McCoy and Knight 2016, 268). They claim that this is what has made Trinidad and Tobago vulnerable to extremism and recruitment to Daesh.

Indeed McCoy and Knight link 'extremist travel' to the Middle East to 'spatially concentrated poverty' and 'small arms fuelled violence' (McCoy and Knight 2016, 268). Their research led them to the profile of the Trinidadian jihadi as being male, Afro-Trinidadian converts in their mid to early twenties, poor and disillusioned, and often with a criminal background (McCoy and Knight 2016, 283–87). These researchers' work seems to support the argument of this chapter that these factors were not recognised as pointing once more towards radicalisation in Trinidad. In interviews done for this thesis with two former Ministers of National Security, both Brigadier John Sandy[7] and now Police Commissioner, Captain Gary Griffith[8] - they both acknowledged that socio-economic and spatial marginalisation were important factors in this situation. Brigadier Sandy indicated that he recognised this problem as a national security issue and tried, during his tenure as Minister, to implement mentorship programmes in at-risk areas. He however received

[7] Sandy, John. (Former Minister of National Security). Interview with author. Tape recording. Port of Spain. January 2018.
[8] Griffith, Gary. (Former Minister of National Security). Interview with author. Tape recording, Port of Spain. January 2018.

no support from the government to sustain or make these initiatives meaningful. His attempt to securitise the problem was rejected by the enabling audience – the rest of the administration.

McCoy and Knight recognised existing overlaps between gangs which trafficked in drugs and guns and socio-political movements – including one gang which identified itself simply as 'the Muslim Gang' (McCoy and Knight 2016, 288). Nevertheless, by thinking primarily in terms of drug-related crime, the state's security agencies failed to recognise these linkages. Resultantly, the organised-crime narrative was reinforced at the expense of the development of a domestic terrorism narrative, at the very least up until 2013 when, by the government's own admission, it was not at all engaged with extremist travellers movements to the Middle East. Thereafter it is a matter of speculation, however if they were aware of recruitment into extremist organisations such as Daesh, the administrations made no moves towards community outreach or other such harmless visible activities. As these would have been positively received social goods the administration would have a vested interest in making them visible, even if not making their rationale public. Given Brigadier Sandy's experience, it is quite possible that the administrations were, managing the threat strategically for their political benefit, had not recognised the threat at all, or recognised it and dismissed it as insignificant.

This chapter has argued that coloniality plays a significant role in the absence of a terrorism narrative for Trinidad and Tobago. It has shown firstly how the legacy of institutionalised racism has penetrated the political culture and affected governance such that any administration has a vested interest in *not* securitising threats, but rather managing them. It has additionally shown

how the economic, social and spatial marginalisation of predominantly Afro-Trinidadian communities has made them vulnerable to extremism. In conjunction with these assertions, the chapter has shown that Trinidad's security context is deeply entangled with that of the United States. The material reality which has emerged out of these intra-acting contexts is an exceptionally exclusive approach to securitising crime in Trinidad, where indications of a re-emergence of radicalism in that society were not recognised as such, allowing for that threat to flourish invisibly.

It is quite clear throughout this chapter that approaches to securitisation have a great deal of explanatory power in the analysis of politics in this case study. Indeed, as much was to be expected as both the speech act approach and the pragmatic approach to theorising securitisation retain a residual classical commitment to state-centrism and Chapters 3 and 4 were both very preoccupied with the behaviour of states. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that there are integral aspects of this analysis which securitisation theory on its own could not account for. Even where Balzacq et al call for attention to power dynamics and psychocultural factors, it is outside the remit of their work to offer a framework for exploring them. Even where Wæver might recommend desecuritisation and offer a framework for moving backwards along the securitisation continuum, his work could not explain doing so for reasons other than more effectively treating with a threat.

Both Chapters 3 and 4 of this work have demonstrated how deeply entangled the political is with the cultural and with the material in the production of reality. Both chapters necessitated an approach that would privilege neither culture, nor matter and enable the insights from each to

be read through each other productively. Both chapters feature hegemonic structures so deeply embedded in history that they would be invisible if a classical approach were taken to looking at the progression of time. As an approach unencumbered with classical commitments, Agential Realism was able to meaningfully fill the gaps left by critical security studies, allowing for a more profound explanation of the absence of narratives from a political perspective.

These two chapters have already begun to show, that this case study would be deeply impoverished by an analysis which adhered to this disciplinary orthodoxy. It shall continue to make this case as it moves into the next major section of this work – two chapters which focus on cultural accounts for the absence of a domestic terrorism narrative in Trinidad and Tobago.

Chapter 6

God is a Trini – The Myth of Trinidadian Exceptionalism

This chapter is the second culture-focused chapter of this work. Where Chapter 5 established the historical basis for the way in which culture, identity and security are deeply entangled and have forged a distinct 'Carnival Identity' for Trinidadians, this chapter concerns itself with another aspect of Trinidadian culture – exceptionalism. Trinidad's distinct brand of exceptionalism comes from a well-established narrative that God is a Trinidadian and that his divine protection renders the state impervious to threat. This work argues that this enduring myth of Trinidadian Exceptionalism plays a distinct role in the security culture of that state.

Indeed this chapter shall argue that this notion that 'God is a Trini' is entangled with the 'Carnival Identity' outlined in Chapter 5, such that another identity materialises - one powerful iteration of the 'Trinidadian Identity'. This work endeavours not to fall into the trap of thinking of culture or identity as wrapped up in a neat, deterministic and reductionist package. Indeed, this position has long been discredited as problematic even if it does continue to appear within the discipline (Reus-Smit 2019; Goff and Dunn 2004, 2). It is not suggesting that this is ***the*** Trinidadian Identity – that is to say the ***only*** one. It acknowledges that it is one which is entangled with many others to form that society, however in the context

of this work, it is the identity which poses complications for securitisation. This is what shall be meant when it is referred to as 'the Trinidadian Identity' throughout this chapter.

This argument shall be made by first considering 'exceptionalism' as a concept. It shall then try to establish an understanding of what gives Trinidadian Exceptionalism its unique flavour before examining the nature of the entanglement with the 'Carnival Identity'. From there, it shall proceed to examine the way in which the 'Trinidadian Identity' is brought to bear on the security culture of Trinidad and Tobago by examining four cases. Finally it shall conclude by highlighting the way in which culture, identity and history were central to this explanation and by extension what is at stake by either excluding them or not giving them due consideration.

Conceptualising Exceptionalism

Exceptionalism plays a considerable role in this thesis. This is not the first chapter which considers the role of the 'exceptional'. Indeed, in the form of 'exceptional measures' it is a defining aspect of the speech act stream of securitisation theory and a point of contention for others, especially those who espouse the pragmatic approach to securitisation and argue that these measures can also be seen as banal and situated within the everyday (Basaran 2008, 340; Ciută 2009, 312). This version of the exceptional within securitisation discourse is much easier to elaborate. Scholars take Carl Schmitt's work as an anchor point from which to begin their discussions which gives a convenient reference point for framing discussions (Browning and McDonald 2013, 241; Neal 2010, 57). The version of exceptionalism with which this chapter is concerned however, does not benefit from the same treatment in the literature.

In researching this chapter, there was much to be found on exceptionalism. The literature however typically constituted case studies of national exceptionalism – political and or cultural. For something which is meant to be represent features so outstanding and therefore atypical enough to be considered exceptional – one cannot miss the irony that exceptionality seems to have been historically, and continues to be contemporarily, a common feature of the international system. This is captured in the spirit of Ronald Granieri's comment that '[e]xceptionalism is not exceptional, though every exceptional state is exceptional in its own way' (Granieri 2016).

Frustratingly, however, there seems to be a dearth of cases where the authors first explored what this concept means. Rather than offering any clear definition of what constitutes exceptionalism, the literature indicates that it is something which we take for granted, one of

those ubiquitous notions that everyone implicitly understands. Supporting this, there is one definition which seems to be reproduced almost exactly in a series of study guides[19] by a single publisher, a legal academic paper (Goodwin and Whelan 2016, 1287) and even on academic forums hosted by reputable universities[20], however none of these credit anyone specific for this definition. It describes exceptionalism as:

> The perception that a country, society, institution, movement or time period is 'exceptional' (i.e. unusual or extraordinary) in some way and thus does not need to conform to normal rules or general principles. Used in this sense, the term reflects a belief formed by lived experience, ideology , perceptual frames or perspectives influenced by knowledge (or lack thereof) of historical or comparative circumstances.
>
> (CTI Reviews 2016)

What also is fairly consistent in the literature and commentary on exceptionalism is passing references to the historical link between exceptionalism and nationalism, invoking the German Romantic scholars Johann Gottefried Herder and Johann Gottlieb Fichte (E. Kaufmann 1999, 454; Plassart 2015, 97; Backer 1998) whose work was preoccupied with notions of uniqueness in the context of 'volksgeist'. According to this idea, as cultural entities, nations were considered to possess a national spirit or soul, distinct from others (Granieri 2016; Bendixsen 2013). Extrapolating from these various details, this work shall proceed to a discussion of what exceptionalism looks like, briefly in the wider context, but then more

[19] *Just the Facts: Textbook Key Facts* is a series of study guides for select textbooks. In no less than four of these study guides it has used the same definition. No citation is provided however each guide indicates that all of the material is either written or prepared by 'Cram 101 Publishing' such that it is possibly the source of the definition.

[20] Oxford and Princeton Universities jointly organised a public forum in 2008 on *Questioning Greek Exceptionalism* as part of their Research Partnership Initiative. The indicated definition is used repeatedly, without citation.
See https://www.mod-langs.ox.ac.uk/files/exceptionalism/

specifically within the Caribbean region in order to set up for the specific case of Trinidad and Tobago.

Discussions of exceptionalism typically seem to happen along lines of political or cultural categories, though these are not mutually exclusive. The political strand is very common, and it typically rests on the virtue of the political tradition of a nation. This is a common feature underpinning for example, Nordic (Bengtsson et al. 2014, 11–12), Arabic (Beck 2015, 192), South African (Lazarus 2004, 610) and Indian (Vickery Jr 2014) exceptionalism. The case of the United States, examined in the first of this work's chapters on politics (Chapter 3) is perhaps the best known example of this and as it was already previously covered in depth, the chapter will move forward to another type of exceptionalism that has not yet been examined.

Within discussions of cultural exceptionalism, ethnicity based exceptionalism is another common theme, often with political consequences. Japan, China and Europe share a strong historical tradition of their politics being informed by mythical understandings of ethnicity. Examples of this include Japan's 20th Century with the *hakko ichiu* (all the world under one Japanese roof) approach (Van Fleet 2016) and China's *zhong guo* policy which is part of a longstanding historical Chinese tradition of ethnically informed policymaking (Zhang 2013, 306). It is perhaps Europe's particular brand of imperial-based ethnic exceptionalism that is the best known though, especially in terms of its reach across time and space. Its ethnicity based exceptionalism informed its imperialist ideology which provided the justification for its monumental colonial exploits and which, as referenced several times in this work, informs the concept of coloniality, which perseveres in the absence of formal colonialism.

Othering was the primary means of asserting European superiority during the 15th Century when colonialism first began. Grosfoguel (2002, 210) argues that this began with Spanish and Portuguese expansionism in the Americas, before spreading to the rest of European powers as they began their conquests of the 'New World'. It was facilitated during early colonial periods by the institution of Christianity, then after the Enlightenment period by the pseudo-science of Scientific Racism (Hira 2015, 138–39; Grosfoguel 2002, 211–13). The political ramifications of this type of cultural exceptionalism is clearly seen in the type of narratives of exceptionalism that has typically emerged in the 'New World'.

Assertions of exceptionalism are not common in Caribbean discourse and seem mainly limited to Haitian, Jamaican and Cuban narratives. Each of them relate to the colonial experience in some form or fashion and it is unsurprising, given the link between exceptionalism and nationalism highlighted early in this chapter, that these are also the states within the Caribbean whose nationalistic traditions have been highlighted as impeding the emergence of a regional consciousness (Charles 2002, 115).

Jamaican exceptionalism was devised as a social control mechanism meant to preserve a neo-colonial structure on the island after independence. Fearful as they were of the Rastafarian movement, the Jamaican government attempted to discredit it by creating a myth which denied the Rastafarian claims of systemic race and class issues in Jamaican society by assigning that structure outstanding features (King, Bays, and Foster 2002, 66–67). In recent times, the concept of Jamaican exceptionalism seems to have been re-appropriated by the people within popular culture where it can be seen used in relation to discussions of national pride and celebration of accomplishment (Duggan 2012; Matthews 2013).

Haitian exceptionalism has been described in terms of 'fragmented nationalism' characterised by tensions between a national identity and a regional one whose history as the hemisphere's first black republic has made it an icon (Charles 2002, 115–16). Charles argued that this is simultaneously constituted by a claim of 'Blackness with a difference' the desire to be a part of the constructed regional identity - institutionalised in the regional mechanism of CARICOM - which is inclusive and normative (Charles 2002, 123). In no small part, the tension between these identities is the legacy of colonialism. Additionally, Haiti's European and American 'punishment' for its independence which has resulted in deep rooted political, economic and social instability has long marginalised it from full CARICOM membership and benefits such as freedom of movement and access to the single market (Tardieu 1998).

In Latin America, the legacy of European exceptionalism can be seen in that narratives of exceptionalism seems to align closely with what we consider to be decolonial approaches in international relations theory. It views the Latin American region as a space where the universal mainstream theories of culture – those which were conceived of in Europe based on European perspectives – do not fit. It concurrently views Latin America as a separate space from which universal theories of culture no not emerge, but rather one where theories informed by indigenous perspectives are explored (Lund 2001, 55–60).

Cuba exists on the cultural and political boundaries of Latin America and the physical boundaries of the Caribbean. Its exceptionalism is based on the understanding that the course of Cuban politics – and by virtue of the nature of its politics, also its economic development has been and remains deviant from all standard patterns of politics throughout history (Whitehead 2016, 3). Interestingly, in illustrating Cuban exceptionalism, Marisa Wilson chooses as a comparative case study Trinidad and Tobago. Through her comparison, Trinidad

and Tobago cannot be argued as demonstrating the qualities of either political or economic exceptionalism (2016, 146–47) which naturally leads one to wonder – what in fact does Trinidadian exceptionalism look like?

Trinidadian Exceptionalism

Very little has been said about Trinidadian exceptionalism and what has been said has not been done so explicitly, nor does it appear as such within the academic literature. Understanding how the concept manifests itself for this country has instead been in large part, an exercise in self-reflexivity as a Trinidadian. Indeed, recalling the unattributed quotation at the start of this chapter, exceptionalism 'reflects a belief formed by lived experience' (CTI Reviews 2016). It is from this position that I advance that the narrative that 'God is a Trini' is a discourse that has come to embody Trinidadian Exceptionalism. This discourse varies notably from the other Caribbean discourses identified in the previous section, insofar as it does has not established itself at all vis-a-vis the colonial experience but in terms of its material circumstances.

Having discussed the myth that God is a Trini in various fora before, the tendency is for people of different nationalities to claim this to be true of their own countries as well. The degree to which this has been internalised and the consistency with which it has been invoked and in some ways performed in Trinidad is, however, nothing short of remarkable. In his discussion of discourses on the War on Terror, Richard Jackson (2004b, 159) suggests a simplified yardstick for measuring the success of a discourse. This shall therefore be the reference for measuring the validity of this claim.

Jackson argues that one can gauge the success of a discourse by considering four factors. Firstly, he suggests examining the extent to which the discourse in question facilitates authorities' ability to enact their policies either with significant support or without significant opposition. Secondly, he recommends considering the extent to which exclusion of

competing narratives have been silenced in the public arena. Thirdly, he asserts that when the rhetoric of the discourse has become adopted and employed uncritically by opposition parties, social institutions and ordinary citizens, it can be measured as successful and, finally, when it becomes institutionalised across political and social institutions (R. Jackson 2004b, 159). As the chapter proceeds, it work shall show that for the myth that 'God is a Trini' all of these conditions have been met (though to differing extents) such that it has become an enduring discourse with a far reach.

God Is A Trini

This section will start with the last of Jackson's criteria – that the discourse must be institutionalised across a range of institutions. Indeed – the most obvious of these institutions is the media, where reference to the myth can be seen in headlines such as 'God (who is a Trini) Gave Rock 'n Roll to you' (The Trinidad Guardian 2013). It is even used offhandedly in articles about arbitrary matters like travel - 'we just couldn't get it any better - you know the saying "God is a Trini", well we have proof' (Morrisson 2006).

Secondly, it can be seen as institutionalised through the pride of the nation – the Carnival and its associated cultural artefacts such as calypso and soca music. An example of this is a 2012 song by the name of 'God is ah Trini' which was sung by a very well-known calypsonian, The Original DeFosto. DeFosto's song was then adopted for competition by four different steelbands in the national Panorama steelband competition - a testament to its popularity (When Steel Talks 2012). The phrase also features in a calypso song revered as the unofficial

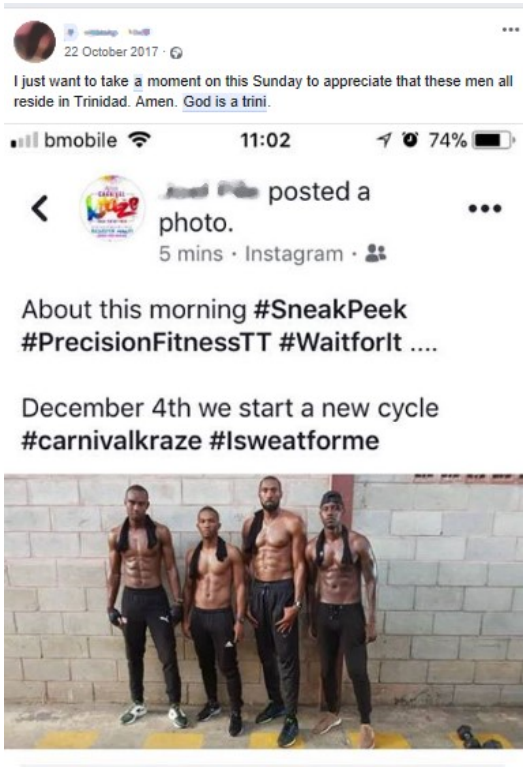
anthem of Trinidad and Tobago, 'Trini to the Bone' by another veteran calypsonian – David Rudder. The lyrics there read 'some people say God is a Trini – paradise and all, convincing me' (Island Lyrics 2011). One can see therefore that the narrative certainly is established in social and cultural institutions.

Less frequent references exist for usage by political figures, however, they do exist. One pointed example of this is when former Prime Minister Kamala Persad-Bissessar, in announcing a large petroleum deposit which would result in a windfall for the economy attributed the good fortune to this myth when commenting to the press (Daily Express 2012). Reasons for not seeing this more frequently expressed at the level of the administration might be argued as an indication of it not being as deeply embedded as this work suggests, however, we will recall the political dynamics of the state as outlined in the fourth chapter of this work. Any incumbent administration in Trinidad has a vested interest in keeping credit for itself in times of good fortune, while avoiding drawing attention to any shortcomings that might be highlighted when commenting on close calls. Politicians are therefore less likely to invoke this myth, even if it is a well-established narrative. This shall be revisited later when discussing the first measurement indicator.

Following from this, we shall consider the third of Jackson's criteria, as it is by far the most visible in this case. The very utterance itself 'God is ah Trini' is common in the Trinidadian vernacular. This can be seen in the way that it has been incorporated into the everyday. One example of this is that it has been commoditised by one small business which sells a range of branded paraphernalia online. Aprons, pet clothing, tote bags and t-shirts all featuring the slogan are easily available for purchase worldwide[21]. It also features on personal blogs – with

[21] See the store https://www.zazzle.com/relax_god_is_ah_trini_shirt-235539517044207654

one actually carrying the words as its name[22] and on light-hearted social media posts as illustrated in Figure 1, shown below.



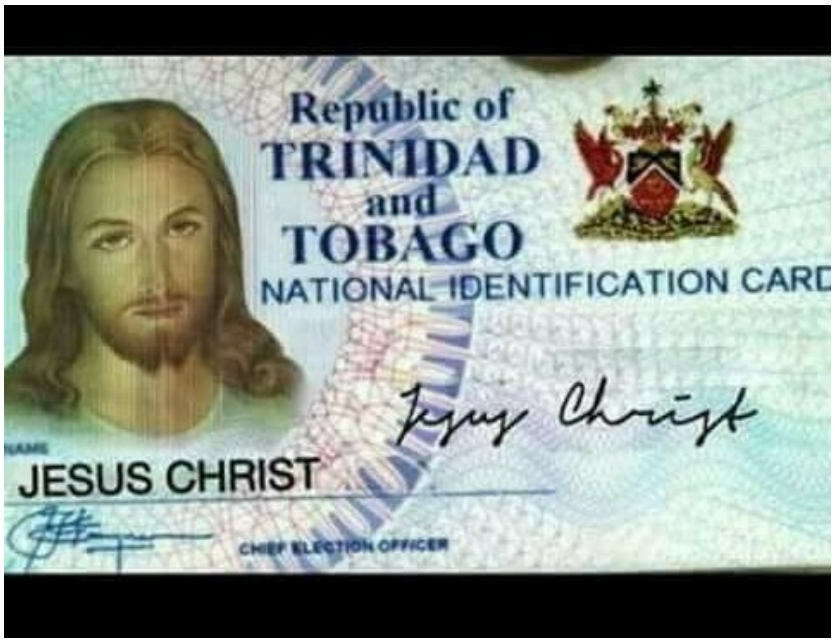
Appendix III Figure 1

Social Media is perhaps the easiest platform on which to see examples of this myth being invoked. Pictured below in Figures 2 and 3, there exists a functioning twitter account for a handle of God868[23] featuring a digitally altered photograph of a Trinidad and Tobago identity card carrying a picture and signature of Jesus Christ. The account which exists for entertainment purposes features as a comment on its profile 'God, Lord, Allah, Jah, Fada…I

[22]see http://god-is-ah-trini.blogspot.com/2012/04/god-is-ah-trini.html
[23] 868 is the international telephone code for Trinidad and Tobago

go by many names' which even in jest, points to the way that this concept embraces the diversity of the Trinidadian identity and is universally understood by the local population.

Appendix III Figure 1



Appendix III Figure 2

The fundamental rationale underpinning this aspect of Trinidadian exceptionalism is fortune that is so good that it can only be the result of direct divine intervention. We shall return to

this example later in this chapter as part of the analysis, however at this stage, a case has been made for 3 of Jackson's criteria being met and the fourth shall be addressed later in the chapter.

It is fair at this point to assume that the myth that 'God is a Trini' is an established discourse in Trinidadian society which shows linkages both to identity and to the Carnival. The chapter shall now progress to show how this myth has been rationalised into existence. As with carnival, it is an example of how the ideational is deeply entangled with the material in this case study such that neither can be excluded. Indeed, it shall in this chapter's later analysis be considered as a phenomenon which intra-acts with the Carnival Identity, to produce the Trinidadian Identity which serves as an interrupter to securitisation.

Rationalising Trinidadian Exceptionalism

Geographically, Trinidad and Tobago is situated in a part of the Caribbean which is both so far south and west that it finds itself less vulnerable to hurricanes and tropical storms (ODPM 2013) in comparison to its relatively close neighbours such as Barbados, St. Vincent and Grenada who are more frequently affected and at times devastated by extreme weather conditions. Similarly, despite being just on the southern boundary of the same tectonic plate as Hispaniola and most of the Lesser Antilles, Trinidad and Tobago has not in its recent history experienced any earthquakes comparable to that which destroyed Haiti (ODPM 2013b). Furthermore, while there are as many as 16 active volcanoes in the region (Roobol and Smith 2016), including the Soufrière Hills of Montserrat. That volcano's eruptions since 1995 have

made half of the island uninhabitable and resulted in a refugee exodus of approximately two thirds of its population (Sword-Daniels et al. 2014, 471). Trinidad and Tobago meanwhile merely has mud volcanoes which have colloquially and light heartedly been likened to 'Mother Nature's indigestion'.

Instead, Trinidad and Tobago finds its most notable geographic feature to be the La Brea Pitch Lake – an anomalous natural asphalt deposit that is a tentative world heritage site. According to UNESCO it is the largest and most significant of its kind in the world, spanning 41 hectares and 72 metres of depth (UNESCO World Heritage Centre n.d.). This manifestation is an pointed example of the prominence of the energy industry which has almost entirely sustained the state's economy for decades. World Bank data indicates that the petroleum and petrochemical industries account for approximately 37 percent of the state's GDP while an overwhelming 70% of exports come from its downstream ore and mineral fuel industries (The World Bank Group 2016) such that it has become the leader in global exports of methanol and ammonia.

While resource-led prosperity has facilitated a serious case of Dutch Disease[24] in the state, it also has also enabled successive administrations to cushion the population in many ways such that the people have been shielded from many realities. The underdeveloped private sector has been held up largely by government subsidies, the population has long benefited from significant fuel, tertiary education, health care, utility and housing subsidies amongst others – in 2016 these subsidies accounted for 52% of the national budget (A. Wilson 2016). Thusly,

[24] This term was coined by *The Economist* in the 1970s to describe a phenomenon being experienced by the Dutch. Following the discovery of an abundance of natural gas, the effects on their currency were such that non-oil exports became less competitive and there were a number of social and economic repercussions. The term is now used to describe a paradox in economics where what would appear to be a positive resource, has a negative impact on the broader economic context of a country .

the citizens of Trinidad and Tobago pride themselves on belonging to the one of the three happiest states in the Caribbean (Helliwell, Layard, and Sachs 2016, 20) where a permanent party atmosphere seems to have taken hold.

This again can be seen in the attitudes of the people as it manifests especially in music which is very closely linked to their cultural identity. One of the most popular songs for 2017's carnival may be one of the clearest depictions of this mindset. The Ultimate Rejects' *Full Extreme* states:

Recession doh bother we
Promote a fete and you will see
How we go party to the full extreme
And light it up with kerosene
The treasury could burn down – we jamming still
The economy could fall down – we jamming still....
No we doh business...
Get on like yuh doh business...
Free up like yuh doh business...

What we can surmise from this section is that the aspect of invincibility which features in the myth of Trinidadian exceptionalism is strongly tied to Trinidadians' experience with their material world. Geography, weather, natural disasters, oil and natural gas, money – quite literally the matter which makes up the world around them and the sheer coincidence of good fortune regarding each of these is indispensable in thinking through this issue. Combined with normative religious beliefs, these physical aspects of Trinidadian life have led to a discourse of imperviousness to threat, by virtue of divine protection. This reflects the rationality aspect of definition of exceptionalism given at the start of this chapter - 'belief formed by lived experience' facilitating a 'perspective[s] influenced by knowledge (or lack thereof) of historical or comparative circumstances'(CTI Reviews 2016) .

God is a Trini and the Trinidadian Psyche

The final example in the previous section - song lyrics linking us back to Carnival - is convenient, but not coincidental as it is in Carnival that we find an explanation for the integration of the 'God is a Trini' concept into the Trinidadian psyche. The chapter preceding this one, in discussing how Carnival has come to be integral to the Trinidadian identity, explores Riggio's framework of the Festival and Workaday Worlds. It is to this framework that our discussion returns once more. In her elaboration of the Festival World - which we have established as informing the Trinidadian carnival mentality - the spiritual, the metaphysical and the primacy of the unseen characterises its actual essence (Riggio 2004b, 21–22). Riggio explains that:

> the epistemology of the carnival world, which because it is centred in imagination and intuition rather than in logic or reason privileges things of the spirit over the material or phenomenological
>
> (2004b, 27)

Indeed, she concludes that there lies among many Trinidadians 'an almost fatalistic belief in cosmic inevitability' (2004b, 28). Following from this understanding of the Trinidadian psyche, it begins to make sense as to why factors such as geographic coincidence and global circumstances have been attributed to divine intervention. The Carnival ethos – the epistemology embedded within the Carnival identity has acted as an apparatus, effecting agential cuts on the phenomenon of Trinidadians' lived experience – that is to say, the entanglement of their normative beliefs and their interpretation of the natural world.

Emerging from this intra-action is the concept of *God is a Trini* - a myth of divine protection, such that good fortune is inevitable.

Furthermore, recalling Riggio's characterisation of time in the Festival World as not holding with the linear Homogenous Empty Time (associated with classically informed determinism) (Osborne and Charles 2015), we are reminded of the non-linearity of thinking within this psyche (Riggio 2004b, 23). Rather, the argument was made for thinking in terms of temporal dis/continuity – and a 'hauntological' reading of history (Barad 2010, 240). In the context of discussion we see the bleeding of histories into each other as we have in each previous chapter. In this case, the ghosts of exceptions and exclusions from threat and disaster have converged in the mind of the people, intra-acting with religious beliefs such that their entanglement materialises an understanding of Trinidad and Trinidadians as exceptionally, divinely, protected.

From here, we are well prepared to proceed to the next section which examines another aspect of this myth of Trinidadian exceptionalism – the idea of a society whose resilience is propped up by its indomitable spirit – its indomitable Carnival spirit to be exact. In this upcoming section, the nature of the link between the Carnival identity and the narrative that 'God is a Trini' shall be explored such that the 'Trinidadian identity' asserted at the beginning of this chapter will emerge and reveal its nature as an interrupter to security.

Trinidad's Festive Resilience: #WeJamminStill

Having established the rationale of the 'God is a Trini' narrative, its implications are extensive. The material world informs the mythical discourse of exceptionalism which, by virtue of its linkages to the Festival World cannot be disentangled from the Trinidadian carnival-based identity. We shall now elaborate that last addition to this entanglement, exploring what it looks like, in this case when a society's resilient character is based on the liminal character of the Carnival identity and how this is brought to bear on issues of security.

Trinbagonians are known for their perpetual happiness, taking pride in frequenting the top 5 happiest countries in the Caribbean according to the United Nations Happiness Index (Helliwell, Layard, and Sachs 2016; United Nations 2017). This 'happiness' is not, however, completely separate from the carnival mentality which informs Trinidadian identity. A Los Angeles Times article written more than a decade ago, describes the nation as having a 'perpetual party atmosphere' (C. J. Williams 2005), a sentiment which continues to be echoed by visitors and reflected in travel blogs - one of which describes the atmosphere by saying:

> take a steel pan version of Pharrell's song 'Happy', a group of friends and maybe a taste of rum and you've captured the mood in Trinidad and Tobago – friendly, happy and relaxed all of the time.
>
> (C. Baker 2016)

Meanwhile, Lime T&T, one of the country's most popular event coverage media companies claims that its name – which references the colloquial term for partying or enjoying oneself 'is synonymous with all things Trini'[25] (Lime.tt 2017).

[25] This term came into usage during the colonial period when English sailors were treated for scurvy with lime juice. The sailors would get together in a group to go 'get limed' when they were onshore and were well known for their drinking and revelry while so doing. Various iterations of the word 'lime' have made it into the vernacular representing this spirit of drinking and revelry e.g. a lime (a get together or casual party), a limer (someone who frequents limes), liming (gerund of the verb 'to lime')

Trinidadians believe that this ability to be happy and enjoy life in the face of anything – their ability to respond to whatever comes their way with the response 'We jammin' still', makes the nation uncommonly (even if paradoxically) resilient. It can be seen as a defence system cleverly camouflaged as a fundamentally pleasant thing – fun, humour, happiness. In short whether they have intended to or not, Trinidadians have appropriated 'escapism' under the guise of culture as the source of their resilience. As this work will come to argue however, this has ultimately led to greater insecurity, rather than a stronger defence.

Escapist activity is meant to enable an agent to avoid 'consideration of offending beliefs'. It does so by disallowing said beliefs from penetrating the consciousness, and failing this, by distracting the agent from their presence (Longeway 1990, 2). Longeway suggests a list of strategies by which this might be accomplished including the deliberate affirmation and defence of positions contrary to the offending belief. Similar to escapism is self-deception, though where the former seeks to avoid by substitution with a more pleasant focus, the latter definitively seeks to avoid awareness of the belief entirely. Self-deception can be understood as an extreme form of escapism - the two often go hand in hand and agents tend to employ one over the other depending on the unpleasantness of the belief (Longeway 1990, 2–6).

Through escapism, Trinidadians have found themselves to possess incredible resilience. In combination with the myth of divine protection that accompanies God's Trinidadian nationality, they therefore believe their nation to be exceptional and in a sense invincible. This dynamic must be understood however as it relates to being part of an integrated Trinidadian identity and the discussion of how that relates to interrupting securitisation.

Trinidadian Identity, the Myth of Invincibility and Security

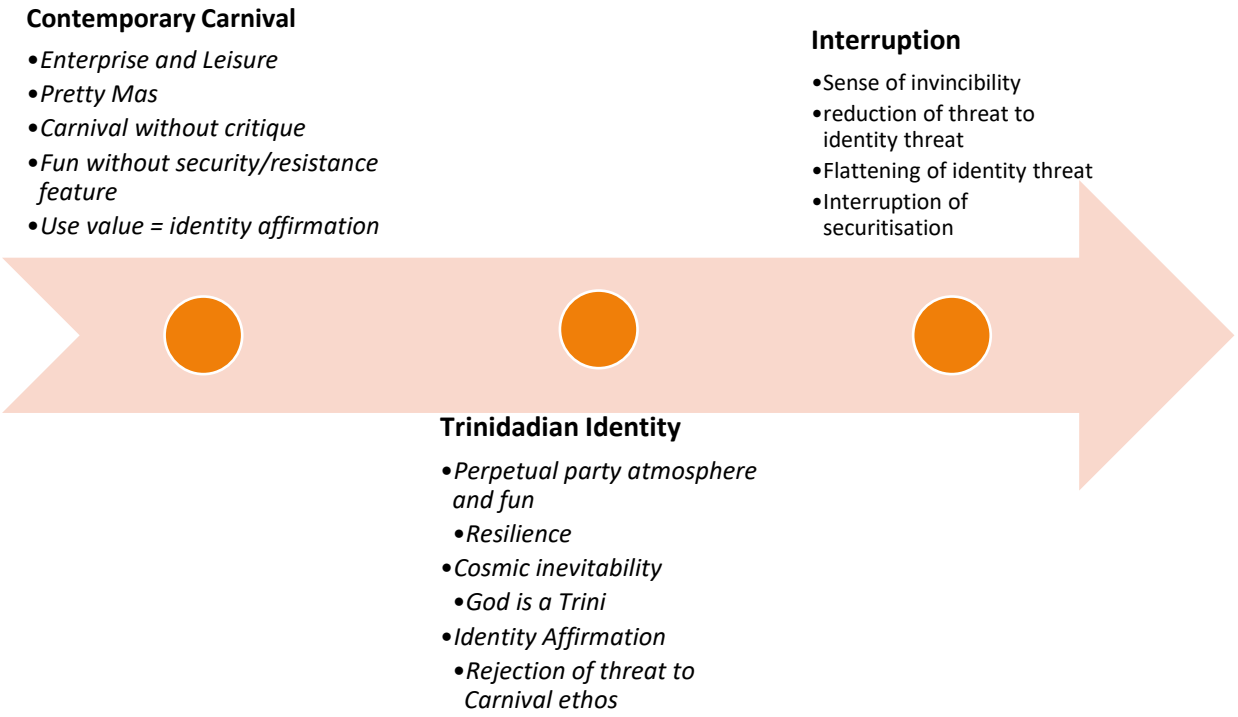


Figure 7 Carnival - from festival, to identity to interrupter

Chapter 5 concluded by bringing us to the point of understanding how the Trinidad Carnival created a Carnival Identity for Trinidadians that is inextricably entangled with history and security. By virtue of that argument, the conclusion was drawn that in the absence of the use-value of resisting external threats, the new use-value for the carnival is ultimate affirmation of identity. This chapter has thus far added an extra nuance to this argument by explicating the phenomenon of Trinidadian exceptionalism conceptualised as *God is a Trini.* This has been articulated as the product of an intra-action between the Carnival ethos (embedded in the

Carnival identity) and the lived experience of Trinidadians. It facilitates a brand of Trinidadian exceptionalism which is based on a myth of the nation being impervious to the dangers faced by others. The 'Trinidadian Identity' has emerged as a result of intra-action between *God is a Trini* and the broader Carnival Identity. Within this Trinidadian identity, the underlying belief of divine protection is entwined with management of threat to the use-value of consummate affirmation.

We have now reached a point in the chapter where the argument will present this Trinidadian Identity and its embedded myth of invincibility as interrupters to security. The position advanced is that threats are either disregarded entirely, as irrelevant, due to divine protection, or are reduced to threats to identity and treated with accordingly. In either case, the outcome is that they are never interpreted as being threatening in a larger and more dangerous context enough that they are successfully securitised. The result of this inherently exclusionary practice is that issues that matter remain un-politicised, or un-securitised, therefore leaving the population more vulnerable. This then is the paradox – that by treating with perceived threat, vulnerability increases, because the exclusions that are made, matter.

At this stage, what has been discussed can be seen largely as conjecture. In an effort therefore to illustrate the reality of this dynamic, this study shall now examine examples of how this can be seen regularly in Trinidadian life and return to social media for illustration.

Rotigate

The first example will look at the relatively harmless review of arguably the most popular food in Trinidad – the wrapped roti – by a Canadian health reporter. This is a very high calorie meal, in most cases, constituting curried meat and or vegetables wrapped in a flour roti skin[26]. Reporting for the Toronto star, Megan Ogilvie highlighted various nutritional facts, ultimately coming to the conclusion that the meal was best consumed in portions (Ogilvie 2017). The response this elicited from the Trinidadian population was powerful, as they took it as a deeply cultural affront despite the fact that there is evidence that lifestyle diseases pose a serious threat to the health of the population. The upset was coined 'Rotigate 2017' on social media (see Appendix III – Figures 3 and 4) and was covered by various news outlets (Santoo 2017; Doodnath 2017).

Lifestyle diseases are estimated to cost the Trinidad and Tobago economy 8.7 billion annually - an approximate TTD $6355 per capita - a figure that was made public by the Ministry of Health barely 5 weeks before the Rotigate incident (G. Alexander 2017). Two years before this incident, in 2015, Trinidad and Tobago was identified as ranking in the top 12% globally for diabetes and as far back as 2010 a locally conducted study indicated that 15% of school children between the ages of 7 and 19 years were obese (Mahabir 2018).

None of these statistics are novel in what they reveal, nevertheless the population's reaction is not to the facts, but to what they consider the cultural affront. The threat that is recognised is being linked to the cultural identity and this is privileged in their response, with any reference to the facts being either ignored completely or cast aside. The way in which they do respond therefore hearkens back to our understandings of escapism. Avoidance and redirection play a significant role in this response as the conversation is directed instead

[26] See Appendix III, Figure 6 for a picture of a wrapped roti

towards the reporter's accent in her video report, or towards questioning other unhealthy food choices.

Appendix III Figure 6

Appendix III Figure 7

Figure 6, pictured above, is an internet meme which was created in response to this issue and the captioning speaks exclusively to the reporter's North American accent and the way she pronounced the word roti (i.e. like roadie as opposed to row-tee) – it completely avoids the actual content of her video with regards to the health concerns. Figure 7 on the other hand, rather than ignoring or avoiding the content of the video, selectively engaged with one aspect of it – her portion recommendations. Instead of focusing on what was said about the nutritional values of Trinidadian food, the meme attempts to turn her portioning

recommendation on its head, redirecting the argument away from the local cultural cuisine and towards North American cuisine.

Furthermore, humour plays a significant role in the response to this threat to identity. This is the manifestation of the same type of picong as was characteristic in satirical calypsos of yesteryear – the haunting of identity affirmation. Instead of being related to an external threat however, it is related to rejecting a threat on cultural identity. In this case, problematising the review as an attack on culture prevented Trinidadians from recognising the real threat of lifestyle illnesses which have a significant impact on mortality rates in the country.

Joint policies were put in place shortly after Rotigate by the Ministries of Health and Education. One restricted the sale of sugary drinks in schools and the other created physical activity programmes to counter sedentary lifestyles. Despite this, at the time of writing in 2019, the most recent statistics released by a Parliamentary Joint-Select Committee revealed that since 2017, the rate of obesity in primary and secondary school children went from 1 in 3 to 1 in 2. President of the Diabetes Association of Trinidad and Tobago Andrew Dhanoo expressed serious concern at these statistics, stating that if the trend continued, the nation was at risk of half of its children potentially dying before their parents (Hassanali 2019).

This case is very interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly we can consider the securitisation of this issue by the government of Trinidad and Tobago. Applying Balzacq's pragmatic approach, a securitising actor would have made a securitising move towards one or more audiences, such that success would result in the implementation of policy measures by the government. If the medical community is taken as the securitising actor in this case, Balzacq's approach would suggest that this was in fact a successful securitisation. The government, as

the enabling audience received the securitising move and in the context of increasing rates of diabetes approved policy measure. The convening of the Parliamentary Joint-Select Committee, the sale restrictions in schools, and the activity programmes embody these measures.

Despite these measures however, the desired outcome of the securitisation of the threat of diabetes as a lifestyle disease was not achieved. The theory does not extend into considerations of success beyond the implementation of these measures such that a successful securitisation could result in no change, or a negative change in the security of the referent object. Securitisation theory therefore excludes a consideration that matters a great deal – the effect on the referent object. This can be seen as a result of its preoccupation with the analytics of government – residual classically informed state-centrism making it less effective in the 'real world' despite its preoccupation with pragmatics.

Balzacq advocates giving due consideration to audiences, both identifying them and considering the psychoanalytical factors which would be brought to bear on their inter-subjective negotiation of the speech act with the securitising actor. In this case, we have the added complication of the referent object coinciding with an audience. Even if we assume that security analysts recognised this overlap, the theory still could not reconcile the paradox with their pragmatic philosophy. The rejection of the less powerful of the two audiences resulted in the actual effects on the referent object, while the banal routinised effects of the successful securitisation process were rendered null. Furthermore, as highlighted earlier in this work, Balzacq offers no framework for analysing the audience such that even though he critiques it, he reproduces the shortcoming of the theory to gauge how important different

audiences are to the securitisation process. Additionally, without a framework, there is no way to gauge how effective the theory would be in explaining this paradox.

Agential Realism on the other hand, clearly gives us a profound understanding of the audience/referent object in this case. Indeed it is by virtue of the analysis in these two chapters on culture that the paradox was identified in the first place. We are able to see how attempts to politicise and then securitise *lifestyle* – a factor that can be associated with the festival world and with the Carnival ethos that informs the Trinidadian Identity - were resisted. We can further see how this cultural identity, interrupting the securitisation process, consequently rendered the referent object – the Trinidadian population more vulnerable. Finally, Agential Realism, by virtue of its diffractive method, has helped to point out that the exclusion of the referent object in the outcome of the securitisation process is problematic and warrants ethical consideration.

Taking a diffractive reading of the outputs of both theories therefore offers the most useful account of the situation and shows the value of integrating theoretical approaches that are unburdened by the limitations of classical orthodoxy in order to complement the exclusions of our existing classically informed theories.

Tropical Storm Bret

This is a pattern that can be traced across events which go beyond mere media sensations. We can consider for example the response of many to Tropical Storm Bret which hit the islands in late June 2017. As was previously explained, Trinidad and Tobago has been relatively

fortunate where natural disasters are concerned when compared to its regional neighbours. Even in the wake of several close calls with hurricanes, Trinidadians in particular (Tobago has not always been spared) have developed a misplaced sense of imperviousness and exceptionalism, such that the saying that 'God is a Trini' has become the default response to environmental threats.

In the face of inclement weather 'God is a Trini' is invoked to defend the masses from confronting serious preparation – a response that would require dispensing, even if temporarily, with the party spirit. This was exactly what took place when Trinidad was hit by the storm. Immediately the narrative became relevant. One news outlet, for example, polled the public on their opinions on whether their Trinidadian god had given up his citizenship.

Appendix III Figure8

Appendix III Figure 9

Figure 8 shows a screenshot of a poll question that was run by one of the television stations during the storm. As this work argues, Trinidadians took the threat to the storm as threat being faced for the first time Trinidadians rushing to reaffirm their beliefs. Figure 9 shows a

meme which not only refutes the questioning of God being a Trini but goes further to contextualise that assertion. Not only is God a Trini, but he is so much of one, that he used a storm to create an extended weekend. Unable to avoid or redirect from an imminent threat, the move was towards the more drastic self-deception to reassert the myth of imperviousness.

It is important to notice that in this case, having been challenged by the reality of the storm hitting the island, the response was first to protect that sense of invincibility, and secondly to escape from the reality and in reassuring themselves of their safety (regardless of it limited truth) turning the conversation towards the perpetual party notion.

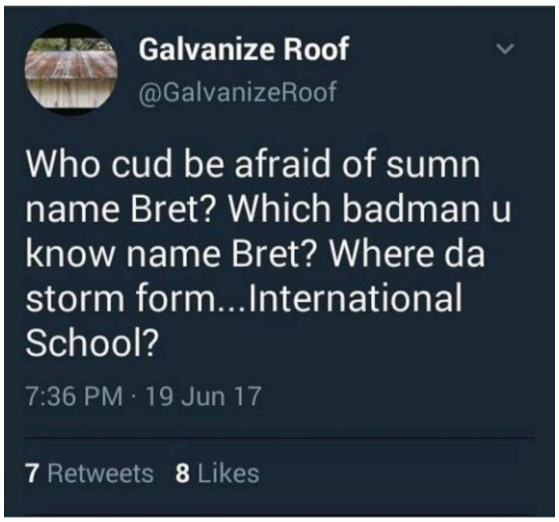
Appendix III Figure 10

Appendix III Figure 11

Turning now to Figure 10, this example features the invocation of humour as part of this affirmation of Trinidadian Identity. The viral 'salt bae' meme was captioned to suggest, following from the previous example, that if a holiday weekend is too short, sprinkle some

storm on it, so that the party can continue. This idea of the storm as a site for performing this Trinidadian identity is expressed further in the meme of a 'storm prep starter pack' for Trinidadians (Appendix I, Figure 11). Rather than emergency supplies, it contains typical 'liming' items each with different iconic values to Trinidadian party culture. The message then, was in order to be prepared, be as Trinidadian as possible.

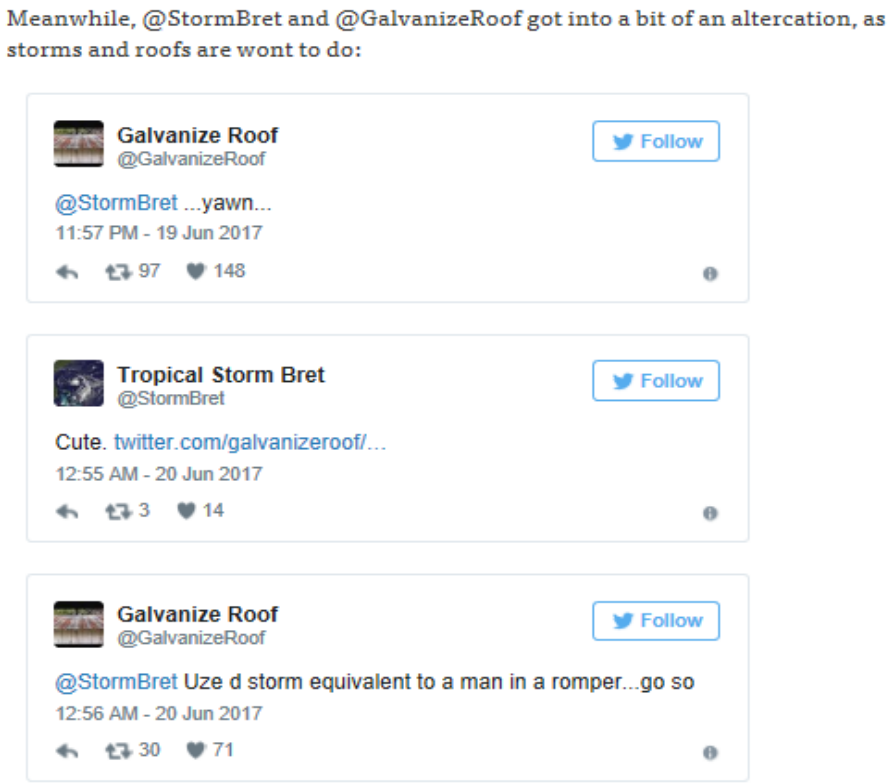
Even during the storm, Trinidadians performed their Carnival identity with the level of creativity and picong one would expect from a society that lives the Festival World. Twitter handles were created for the storm (@StormBret) and for a galvanised roof (@galvanizeroof) giving the threat, and a symbol of a referent object – the roof of a typical Trinidadian house – personhood. Throughout the duration of the storm they interacted with each other and with the public – satirising the storm and mocking even the politicians as calypsonians did in the past.



Appendix III Figure 12

Figure 12 shows the screenshot of a tweet posted by @galvanizeroof questioning whether the storm was at all threatening. It did so by comparing the Eurocentric name given to the

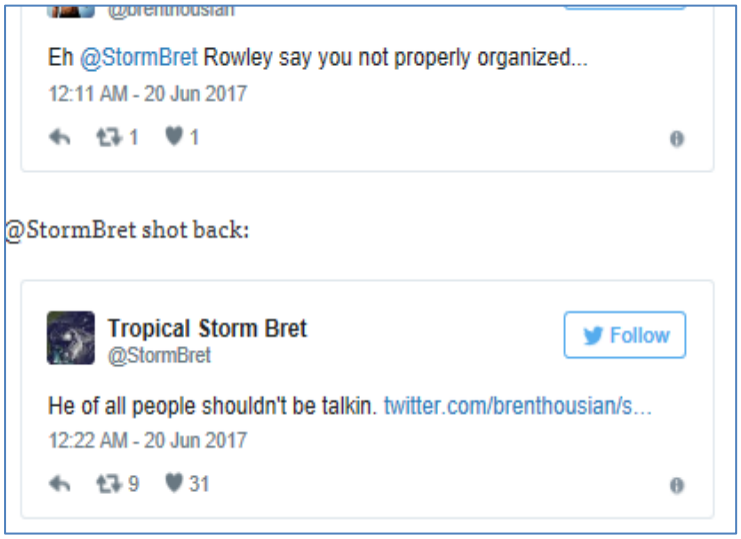
storm to the types of names students of the International School are perceived as having. The International School, being the sphere of only the most privileged in Trinidadian society, is associated with the negative perception of being weak and pampered – not threatening like a 'badman' or gangster. A storm thusly named could be no threat to the resilient Trinidadian identity.



Appendix III Figure 13

Figure 13 shows the continued satirising of the situation through these two characters. The roof – symbolic of the Trinidadian — yawns in boredom, suggesting that the storm is not that big of a deal (i.e. unthreatening). The storm, replies, quite unimpressed with this disrespect. The roof in turn mocks the storm by equating it to a man in an article of clothing typically reserved for women. The insinuation is that such a man is a joke – hardly threatening at all

and therefore the storm should just ‘go so’ – it has been dismissed in the Trinidadian vernacular.



Appendix III Figure 14

Figure 14 sees continuation of the dialogue between the storm and, this time, a citizen of Trinidad and Tobago. The citizen mocks the storm, saying that the Prime Minister has described it as disorganised and therefore not a significant threat. The storm’s response is to mock the Prime Minister, saying that people in glass houses ought not throw stones. This is in particular an interesting interaction in that it tacitly speaks to something of which Trinidadians are well aware. The way that the ‘God is a Trini’ narrative has manifested on the administrative side of security is that while, as indicated earlier in this work, it is rarely articulated in speech, implicitly it is practiced in the lack of attention and seriousness given to disaster preparedness and management. Trinidadians know this; however, it has never truly mattered as they believe that they are divinely protected. The various administrations have therefore successfully relied on this narrative to allow for their lax policies to go unopposed.

This finally illustrates the missing criteria from Jackson's yardstick for successful narratives as outlined at the start of this chapter – that the narrative facilitates authorities' ability to enact their policies either with significant support or without significant opposition.

This series of examples are illustrating the invocation of liminality and the carnivalesque. The subversion of the storm's power through mockery and satire and fun, the dialogical nature of the interaction harkening back even to the call and response format seen in the Kalinda of colonial carnivals point once more to the presence of the past in the interpretation of threat. It even links it, as is tradition, back to politics and mocking those in power, although now the threat is no longer linked to the administration as it was during earlier iterations of the Carnival identity seen in Chapter 5. Again it is hard to miss these hauntings of past approaches to threat, that are very much present in the way that current security issues are treated in Trinidad. As it has been previously established that they are rooted in a deep entanglement of the material and the ideational, thoroughly accounting for them will require an approach to security that privileges neither factor, but rather, reads them productively through each other.

These images or responses that have been conjured up in response to the Rotigate and Tropical Storm Bret are undeniably humorous, uplifting and indeed one can see how they might be interpreted as making lemonade out of life's lemons. Nevertheless the question that lurks just behind every one of them is – when does it stop being funny and start being a problem? Is it when homes collapse? When entire communities are under water for days at a time? Unfortunately, the answer is no. Even as a relatively small and weak storm, Bret did considerable damage to parts of Trinidad including causing street and flash flooding and structural damage, yet this did not dampen the festive spirit.

Appendix III Figure 15

Despite the typical warnings of entering flood waters – waterborne diseases, strong currents in some areas, debris, dangerous animals such as snakes and caiman - photos emerged of 'flood limes'[27] where people enjoyed themselves in the flood waters during the inclement weather. Figure 15 shows a group of people liming outdoors during the storm, their patio furniture located in the flood water. The table is stocked with various bottles of alcohol and they are enjoying themselves, asserting the Carnival identity stubbornly amidst the threat of the water. This is reminiscent as well of 'curfew parties' which took place both during the coup of 1990 (Thomas 2010, 74) and the State of Emergency declared in 2011 (Marcelle 2011).

What then does securitisation theory have to offer us in analysing this example? Firstly, it would question whether any securitisation had taken place in this instance. The meteorological office would have been the securitising actor, who by virtue of weather bulletins and declarations of storm watch and storm warnings would have identified the

[27] See footnote 7 for explanation of usage of the word 'lime' in the Trinidadian vernacular

threat to the referent object of Trinidad and Tobago and its people to multiple audiences – the government and the population. We can see clearly that in keeping with the argument of this work and following form the previous example, that the population, serving as both referent object and audience rejected the securitising move through invocation of exceptionalism embedded within the Trinidadian identity and performed through the affirmation of the Carnival identity. The outcome, as it was before, was a population rendered more vulnerable. The difference in this case though, is that unlike in the case of Rotigate – the government did not agree to securitise this issue.

From the perspective of a theory concerned with survival and the pragmatic actions of government, this does not appear to be rational, especially when neighbouring islands have regularly been seriously affected by storms and hurricanes. We see here, how the myth of invincibility implicitly operates within the action of the government as well. Another aspect of this situation which securitisation theory might address is the deliberate de-securitisation of the threat by the Prime Minister by declaring it a disorganised weather system to the public. Recalling Chapter 4 of this work, any Trinidad government would have a vested interest in doing this – especially with rationales underlined by the myth of invincibility.

Chapter 4 of this work argued that given the dynamics of race-based politics in Trinidad, administrations are unlikely to make visible any vulnerability which opponents might take advantage of in order to delegitimise the incumbent administration and obtain power. Citing Wæver's position that certain issues are best dealt with within the realm of 'normal' politics, it highlighted that desecuritisation is the preferred course of action by securitisation theory as in its original form forwarded by the Copenhagen School (Wæver 2000, 253–54). Despite

this, the argument was made that in Trinidad's political culture, the preferred course of action goes beyond de-securitising, to de-politicising, in order to avoid opposition.

In this case, as the storm was already being articulated as a threat by the meteorological office, so there was already a movement along the continuum from politicised to securitised. In keeping with the argument presented on the way in which political culture informs securitisation in Trinidad, the government sought to move backwards, away from securitisation, back towards politicisation, accounting for the Prime Minister's choice of describing the storm as a 'disorganised system'[28]. Here however we are left with another paradox.

This de-securitisation, especially in conjunction with the rejection of the securitising move of population, once again rendered the referent object more vulnerable. By avoiding securitisation – the country remained with under-developed emergency response systems. For example, the Office of Disaster Preparedness and Management remains underfunded and understaffed, such that when there was unprecedented flooding all over the island in October 2018[29] – there was no team in place to treat with the imminent threat to life and land. Further to this, never having been securitised as a result of the enduring myth that 'God is a Trini', there were never any policy measures put in place to coordinate the protective services to respond to the threat.

During the 2018 flood, the coast guard for example, had no vessels small enough to navigate the flooded neighbourhoods where families were marooned on top of their houses or trapped

[28] In the spirit of keeping exclusions in mind, it is also possible and to some extent likely that this position was also taken to prevent panic amongst a population unused to dealing with adverse conditions however this does not change the subsequent argument.

[29] See YouTube video entitled 'Flood in Trinidad and Tobago Compilation 20th & 21st October 2018 for footage to contextualise the extent of this situation: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eHMM2ldgypg

inside of them in precarious positions. Indeed – that de-securitisation be considered favourable without very specific caveats indicates a classical vein underlying the theory – that the states in question are all the same in terms of resources, priorities and rationales which would ultimately favour a de-securitised approach with a positive outcome for dealing with a perceived threat. The great irony attached to this is that finally faced with a crisis beyond anything experienced previously, affecting so much of the island and in the face of a government response so obviously inadequate – the population's belief in the myth of invincibility was suspended long enough that one form of exceptionality was replaced by another.

The exceptional measures ought to have been activated by the government according to securitisation theories which frame these measures in terms of policy and politics. Nevertheless, they were mustered and activated by the people themselves. Fishermen, river-tour guides, private citizens with leisure crafts, divers and surfers from all different parts of the country converged on areas which were affected, rescuing families that had been stranded, at times for days without food, water or shelter on top of homes as pictured in Figure 18 below (Seelal 2018; Dowrich-Phillips 2018; TTOC 2018).

LOOP NEWS | CREATED : 27 OCTOBER 2018 | T&T NEWS

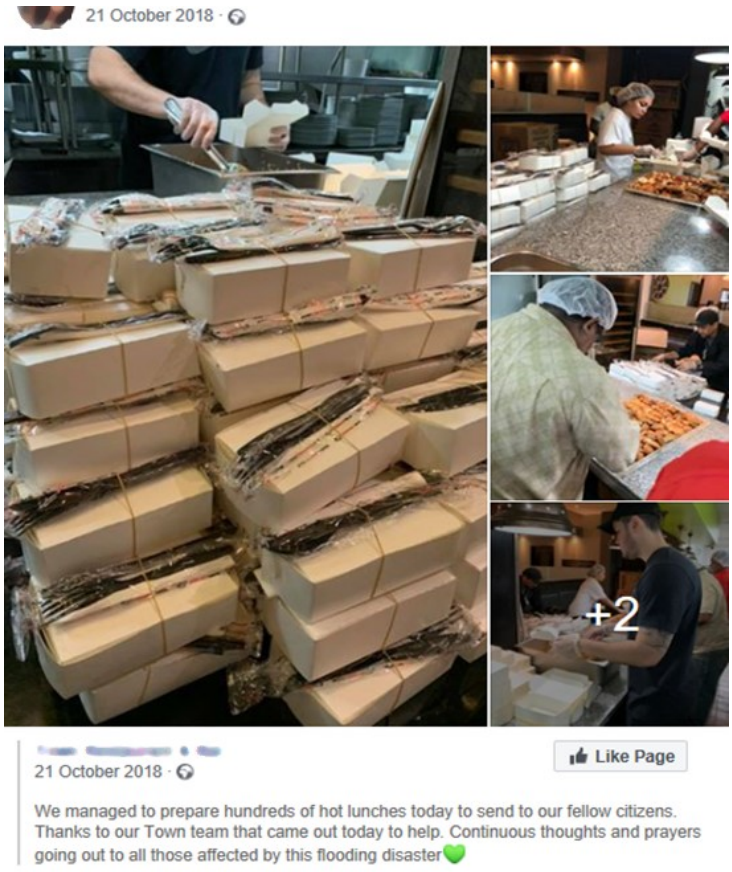
Appendix III Figure 18

Appendix III Figure 17

An example of this can be seen in Figure, 17 shown above which features a post from the Facebook Page 'Traffik Spotters TT'. This group typically operates regarding day to day road traffic situations. However, in this situation, it turned into a first responder coordinating rescue efforts. The caption states 'Traffik Spotters TT Members…organised a boat to help out in Ibis Gardens…volunteers needed to man the boat and rescue and also needed - someone from the area to help mobilise boat routes'. Similar responses can be seen below in other examples.

Appendix III Figure 19

Figure 19 shows a post by a local vet coordinating to go to rural areas which were affected, to help treat animals to avoid public health issues. She speaks about the potential for outbreaks of diseases such as leptospirosis and how transmission relates to flood conditions, before continuing to try to mobilise resources for this private undertaking. Meanwhile, As makeshift shelters began to emerge through religious organisations, the officially designated shelters having themselves been submerged, local businesses added to the effort by preparing food for victims at shelters. An example of this can be seen in Figure 20, where a single restaurant prepared food for hundreds of citizens.



Appendix III Figure 20

In a way, the citizens rather than government were the ones to ultimately securitise the threat in the immediate sense. Counterintuitively, they, rather than the government, were the enabling audience, and citizens, rather than official agencies were the first responders, performing tasks usually coordinated by government agencies created for that purpose. They were later joined by the defence forces when they were able to address their resource and logistics issues. Neither a speech act nor a pragmatic approach to securitisation can explain this phenomenon. Yet, it reveals one very important point that the myth itself was a specific interrupter to action for both audiences and that when removed, security was increased for the referent object.

The case of Bret and the 2018 floods take the chapter a step closer to understanding how this discussion speaks to more traditional security issues, leading up to terrorism. The next example takes it further in that direction, by directly linking national security issues with the Carnival identity.

Parts Unknown

Celebrity food reporter Anthony Bourdain visited Trinidad and Tobago in early 2017. His visit initially met with much excitement by the locals. This changed several months later when his field notes of his time in the country revealed that despite being received by the typical warm, friendly, Trinidadian atmosphere that locals take pride in, the country's crime statistics point to its many social ills (Bourdain 2017). The CNN synopsis of the episode pointed explicitly to

the chef questioning whether the country's fete culture might be related to this crime issue (CNN 2017).

People became even more disgruntled when the episode of his television show *Parts Unknown* aired and Bourdain quoted verifiable statistics comparing the crime rates in Trinidad to those of large cities in the US and found that it was much higher in the islands. He stated:

> Trinidad, with a population of only 1.3 million people had 460 murders last year, giving Port of Spain a per capita murder rate higher than Detroit, Oakland or Chicago
>
> ('Trinidad' 2017)

Further to this, Bourdain interviewed a young man, Muhammad Muwakil, a musician who grew up in the Jamaat al Muslimeen compound, as his father took part in the 1990 coup. They spoke about Trinidad's social ills and the role they have played historically in radicalism on the island and how that might relate to current trends of radicalisation. As the interview progresses, the pair discuss Daesh recruitment and Bourdain asks Muwakil his opinion. His response directly linked the current situation to the 1990 coup. 'Exclusion breeds crime' he responded, before continuing to explain that the type of socio-economic conditions which both contexts share and which he believes have motivated radicalisation and Daesh recruitment from Trinidad ('Trinidad' 2017).

This endorses the argument presented in Chapter 4 of this work that domestic security narratives are informed by the regional hegemonic narrative on transnational organised crime. Criminal activity was shown to be linked both to poverty and to Daesh recruitment, however, has been securitised in terms of drug-related violence, at the expense of deeper

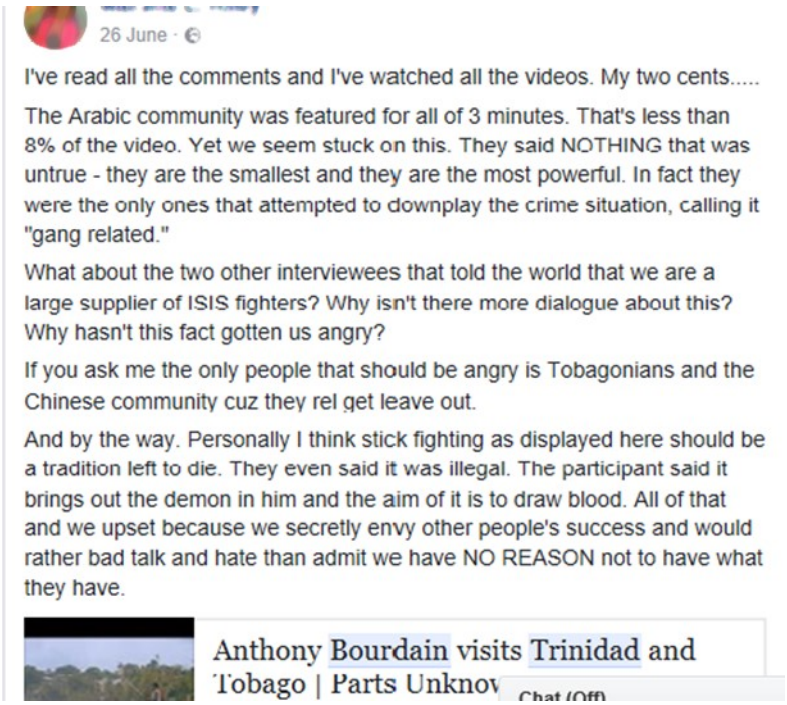
considerations. The relevance to this chapter comes in the response to the question which followed. Bourdain next asked 'Would you say that Carnival and that Carnival attitude – might as well be a brilliant strategy to narcotise the people into being satisfied with the status quo?'. Muhammad's response aligns perfectly with this chapter:

> Everything here is somehow designed to pacify, without us really realising it. So our music, which is supposed to give us adrenaline ... is just doling out sleeping pills – like – go ahead, enjoy yourself … you're a Trini. Trini means fun loving and happy, despite whatever it is…
>
> ('Trinidad' 2017)

Muwakil's response is a particularly strong example for this work because it links both politics chapters to the culture chapters, highlighting once more the entanglement between cultural identity and security in Trinidad and Tobago.

Returning to the public response to Bourdain, the facts and opinions presented are again not unknown or unfamiliar to the people, however the country was once more reported in the media as being outraged (Boodram 2017)– not about the crime or the terrorist links discussed, but about the criticism of the island and about class relations - issues related to identity. Indeed in Figure 21, shown below, we are able to see one citizen whose response to Bourdain's criticism was to take it personally in terms of 'Trinidadians and Trinidad', before trying to discredit the chef by questioning the extent of his travels, despite that being unrelated to the facts that Bourdain presented.

Appendix III Figure 3



Appendix III Figure 4

Figure 22, shown above presents us with a screenshot which more fully reflects the argument which this work makes. When unpacked, the comment shows a number of things. Firstly, there is a negative preoccupation with the Trinidadians who were interviewed that spoke about our ISIS recruitment. The person posting the message on social media asks specifically why there was no anger in response to 'interviewees that told the world that we are a large supplier of ISIS fighters'. Those persons – the reporter who broke the ISIS recruitment story in local news, and a young man who grew up in the Jamaat al Muslimeen - like Bourdain, spoke about facts that have been reported in the news repeatedly and which were published in an academic journal[30]. Nevertheless, the commenter was concerned with the way this made Trinidadians appear to the world – challenging the Trinidadian identity. Furthermore, she chose to gloss over the loaded commentary given by members of the Syrian-Lebanese community, which promoted very divisive views about Trinidadian society.

During a dinner with a prominent Syrian-Lebanese family, one of the country's most successful businessmen made a prideful comment to Bourdain that he had in one of his businesses, created the Starbucks of the Caribbean. He followed it up by asserting that as the smallest ethnic group in Trinidad, the 1% of Arabs controlled 99% of the economy. He even reduced the middle class to a 'buffer zone' between themselves and criminals, between the haves and the have nots ('Trinidad' 2017). Ultimately, the businessman was forced to issue an apology as the backlash was significant (Dowlat 2017). There was, indeed, the expected and unacceptable racist vitriol directed towards the Syrian-Lebanese community. This was entwined with a proliferation of conspiracy theories about their involvement in crime (a very long established rumour) (Hadeed 2018).

[30] See McCoy and Knight (2016) cited earlier in this work.

Ryan Hadeed, journalist and member of the Syrian-Lebanese community expressed his view on the matter in an article entitled *Home Is Where the Hate Is.* Published a month after Bourdain's show aired, he expressed his disappointment with the public's continued reaction to the statements made on the television show. He commented on the demonising of the Arab community during that time stating ' the more extreme voices have sought to portray this one ethnicity as the architects for all the criminality in our country' (Hadeed 2017). Perhaps, the outcome with the most longevity has been the emergence of the '99 percent' as a concept which has been used as a rallying cry of sorts for everything from boycotting the 1% to supporting the 'buy local' movement (Looptt 2017b).

This was the part of the video therefore, which had the potential to *actually* damage the Trinidadian society. Yet, it was the part framed as indisputable fact. It was the one fact that we should not dwell on while the other facts mentioned were problematised. Finally, the commenter argued that stick-fighting should be left to die. This is a great irony given that stick fighting is part of the tradition that would have seen culture and identity in relation to class related threat, as argued in Chapter 5. Its sanitisation (along with other traditions) from mainstream carnival is one of the exclusions that led to the 'carnival without critique' and ultimately contribute to the type of view that she has here shared in her post.

This example, therefore, shows quite clearly how in cases of traditional security issues, preoccupation with the Trinidadian Identity are distractions from facts. Indeed Trinidad seems to share a commonality with China's exceptionalism, parts of which Van Fleet (2016) asserts are characterised by 'denial of fact' and the 'creation and nurturing of fictions'. It is possible at this stage to at least begin visualise how a domestic terrorism narrative for Trinidad had not emerged. This shall be elaborated in the final example.

Malcolm Nance and Terrorism

The final example that will be used to illustrate this pattern of Trinidadian behaviour is the one most directly related to the issue of contemporary radicalism and Daesh recruitment from Trinidad and Tobago. It is the response of the people of Trinidad to counter-terrorism expert Malcolm Nance's comments on an MSNBC interview. While being interviewed, Nance described the United States' travel ban on certain countries due to terrorism as unjust. His argument was that there were other countries with citizens fighting for Daesh in Syria which were not included. Trinidad and Tobago was named as one such country (Baldeosingh 2017). This was indeed a fact as the story of recruitment was well established by that time. Andy Knight and John McCoy had 6 months prior to Nance's interview, published their frequently referenced article *Homegrown Violent Extremism in Trinidad and Tobago: Local Patterns, Global Trends* (2016).

In keeping with the pattern that we have seen thus far, Trinidadians – including the government— immediately and uncritically rejected what was said with some groups even demanding an apology. The Office of the Prime Minister released an official statement in response to Nance's interview describing it as broad, simplistic and unsupported by fact (K. Rowley 2017). Meanwhile, the National Trade Union Centre demanded immediate withdrawal of the statement and issuance of a public apology to the people of Trinidad and Tobago, both at home as well as within the US diaspora (Looptt 2017a). Reactions from the society were diverse – a number of them can be seen by examining Figures 23, 24 and 25 below, which feature screenshots of the comment thread on the MSNBC video.

Appendix III Figure 5

Appendix III Figure 6

Appendix III Figure 7

Some citizens expressed downright denial of Nance's statement, dismissing his comments with spurious logic. An example of this can be seen in Figure 24, shown above where one person claims that it could not be true or else there would have been cases of domestic terrorism and attacks on neighbouring countries. What is being said in this example could be very convenient political amnesia of how radicalism informed the 1990 coup – a type of self-deception. It could also be ignorance of the coup and of the other stories of Trinidadians' involvement in terrorist activity as outlined in the introduction to this work. For younger persons in particular, this could be a result of the lack of domestic narrative.

Figure 24 also shows attempts at dismissal that relies on redirection. One person attempts to redirect the attention towards an argument that Daesh is the product of US policy. Another person chimed in, in support of this statement, claiming that it was part of US strategy to 'kill us all and take over'. Others attempted to go step further in their redirection, trying to discredit Nance via ad hominem remarks. Figure 25 features one such remark, made by a person who turns his claims on its head, calling him a terrorist for supposedly spreading falsehoods in the attempt to obtain a position in the Trump administration. This is quite the stretch given that there is factual evidence to support Nance's claims however it shows that drastic move to self-deception rather than being confronted with what is a perceived attack on Trinidadian identity.

Other attempts to discredit the comment were based on Trinidad's character. Shown in Figure 23, one person asserts that Trinidadians are lovers not fighters and that anger would never survive in Trinidad. True to the Carnival identity, the commenter attempted to mock Nance, suggesting that he was bitter over a broken heart at the hands of a Trinidadian woman. This again is a direct appeal to the cultural identity of Trinidad which would somehow exclude it from violence. Indeed, as Larry Backer puts it, cultural solicitude of this type is grounded in exceptionalism and 'the gravamen of cultural solicitude is the cry "this cannot apply to me!" ' (Backer 1998, 1334). Furthermore, there remains the liminal aspect associated with the carnivalesque whereby subversion is attempted through mockery.

The reactions shown above, continue to demonstrate a larger pattern of Trinidadians interpreting threats as threat to national identity rather than threat to safety. The pattern suggests that typically the Trinidadian Identity, informed by both the Carnival Identity and the enduring myth that 'God is a Trini' complicates treatment of security issues such that they

may not be securitised or that their securitisations may be fruitless. Recent events also suggest that removing the interrupter that is the Trinidadian identity from featuring so prominently in the minds of the people can result in a different security outcome. The instance in which a positive security outcome was seen for the referent object featured overwhelming, immediate physical danger as the impetus for temporarily dispensing with the myth of imperviousness. The theory showed its utility only when the cultural aspect was removed from the situation. This seems to suggest an unproductive over-emphasis on the state in theoretical approaches to securitisation – a point which was extensively argued in Chapter 5 in relation to analyses of securitising moves in the Trinidad Carnival over the course of history. Ultimately this once more reinforces the overall argument of this work that

We are therefore left with a possible reason for the way in which culture might be brought to bear on the way that narratives failed to develop for the case of Daesh recruitment from Trinidad and Tobago. Having now over the last four chapters come to a set of political and cultural considerations which inform the security culture in Trinidad and Tobago, this work shall move to its final discussion. It shall consider how these considerations can be applied to accounting for the lack of terrorism narratives for Trinidad and Tobago and in so doing, make a case for challenging the privilege of classically informed perspectives in International Relations.

Discussion

This thesis argued that gaps in existing approaches to theorising securitisation are problematic insofar as they are unable to effectively consider the role of important contextual factors such as cultural identity and history in securitisation processes. It argues that critical security scholars need to continue to push the boundaries of scholarship to recognise the importance of these factors by introducing ways of meaningfully including them in existing theoretical frameworks, so that they can be effectively integrated into analyses. To do this, it explores how these factors are imperative to explaining the absence of domestic and international terrorism narratives for Trinidad and Tobago, while illustrating how ineffective securitisation theory is at recognising this.

Agential Realism was used as the complementary theoretical perspective in this work, to fill the gaps which have been left by securitisation theory. This allowed for the recognition of the importance of colonial history and cultural identity to explaining the absent security narrative. Agential Realism's diffractive methodology allowed for the systematic consideration of these factors in order to give a more profound analysis. It also allowed for material and ideational considerations to both be given due consideration in examining the case study. This diffractive methodology was practiced within chapters through the use of Agential Realism, but also across them in a broader sense of reading insights through each other, to show how politics and cultural identity both played a significant role in the failure of terrorism narratives to materialise for Trinidad and Tobago.

This work identified two questions about the case study which it would attempt to address through insights from the analysis. It shall now attempt to answer those questions, showing the limitations of current thinking on securitisation. It shall also show the analytical potential of empowering securitisation to go beyond its current limitations by being more inclusive in its theoretical frameworks.

Research Question 1: How did terrorist threat in Trinidad and Tobago fail to be securitised?

This work takes the position that terrorist threat failed to be securitised in Trinidad and Tobago for two interconnected reasons. Firstly, the dominant hegemonic security narrative for the LAC regions is the narco-trafficking narrative, which has subsumed the global hegemonic terrorism narrative such that an international narrative never developed. Additionally, the political culture of Trinidad and Tobago is also not conducive to securitisation as the race-based one-party-dominant system of government tends towards threat management in the form of depoliticization. Further to this, internalising the narco-trafficking narrative has resulted in certain demographics within Trinidad being securitised along lines of drug-related gang violence, at the expense of recognising that the marginalisation of those same demographics has resulted in radicalisation previously. There was therefore also no reason for a domestic narrative to develop, and consequently, the threat was left to flourish invisibly.

In considering the utility of securitisation theory in reaching this conclusion, it was most useful in the context of understanding the absence of the international narrative. This is unsurprising considering the nature of US politics which tends to resonate with classically informed IR. Balzacq's integrative approach allowed for an understanding of how the LAC regions managed to become securitised in ways which always framed the territories as a monolith. The inclusion of psychocultural considerations, the audiences and the power dynamics of the

situations were very important in understanding both how the US came to this perception and how the regions seemed to accept it.

Indeed, the US' realist treatment of the regions is a reflection of the mainstream position that washes out culture and identity in contexts of self-help and power, such that there was no reason to see the regions as separate. The US' actions also points out how culture and identity have been washed out from IR in that ST offers no meaningful way to address the inclusion of those considerations, even though it endorses them. Given that the racist imaginaries underlying US exceptionalism - both in terms of Manifest Destiny and the more aggressive Manicheanism of the War on Terror – were key to this analysis, this points to the limitations of ST. This was further highlighted by how useful Agential Realism was for filling gaps.

Agential Realism's diffractive approach which privileges neither material nor cultural considerations created a sound analytical structure for reading the cultural into the analysis. A non-linear conception of time allowed for a tracing of the ideational factors as a constant in US grand strategy. This allowed for culture to become visible in the analysis, so that the nature of the LAC monolith could be explained. Making culture visible also allowed for the neo-orientalist nature of the War on Terror narrative to be explained in a way that excluded the LAC regions and consequently led to the primacy of the regional narco-trafficking narrative. It is clear therefore that the international aspect of the absent terrorism narrative is best explained by a combination of approaches which give due consideration to history, identity and culture without being bound by conventional limitations.

In terms of the domestic narrative, ST on its own is unable to effectively analyse the case study as a direct result of not being able to address the contextual factors of political culture and history, even though it endorses their inclusion. Indeed, it is particularly pointed in this

example that the absence of elaboration in this regard points to the discipline's continuing struggle of how to meaningfully integrate these factors. Only after Agential Realism was used to show the effects of the coloniality of the racial imaginary on Trinidad's politics – illustrating an unconventional understanding of the past as present and informing governance - did ST become useful. Once this was done, it was possible to see that parties within the government were securitising each other while managing threats to the nation (rendering them invisible) such that securitisation of potentially inflammatory issues is an unlikely feature of Trinidad politics. Notably, ST nevertheless cannot account for the atypical use of desecuritisation as this too is linked to specific political culture as opposed to a universal assumption of states' interests.

Furthermore, it is through Agential Realism's diffractive methodology that this domestic context could be read through the international context, in order to recognise important exclusions. Diffraction – informed by quantum thinking, allowed for a recognition that socio-economic conditions and marginalisation was seen in terms of drug-related crime, at the exclusion of recalling its past linkages with fostering radical activity in Trinidad. This combination of perspectives is what ultimately allowed for an understanding of how a terrorism narrative failed to develop for Trinidad and Tobago.

How did terrorist threat develop seemingly unnoticed by the population of Trinidad and Tobago?

This work has argued that the 'Trinidadian Identity', which has emerged from the entanglement of the Carnival Identity and Trinidadian exceptionalism, plays a significant role in securitisation processes in Trinidad and Tobago, by functioning as an interrupter to those processes. This, along with the absence of international and domestic narratives to act as a cue, led to the threat invisibly flourishing within the small state. It is immediately apparent that a diffractive reading of this work's political and cultural sections is integral to coming to this conclusion. This is the first indication of how useful Agential Realism is as an inclusive approach.

Chapter 6 illustrated the power of this interrupter, as Trinidadian Identity is informed by a need to consummately affirm the Carnival ethos while simultaneously believing in divine protection from threat. In the presence of threat, this results in the invocation of the 'party spirit' – escapism which in the extreme, becomes self-deception. Consequently successful securitisations by the state, fail to have positive security effects on the referent object (society) if the population as one audience, rejects the securitising move. Additionally, this has come to be something which any administration can count on to not challenge its own tendency towards threat management rather than productively dealing with the potential danger, which in turn links back to why a domestic narrative did not emerge.

Not unlike in the domestic political context, Trinidadian cultural identity - which has been shown to be closely entwined with history and the material world – complicates the

securitisation process such that paradoxes emerge that cannot be explained using ST. This is in part due to the Copenhagen School's failure to elaborate audiences, a fact which though recognised, remains under-theorised even in Balzacq's integrative approach. The bi-directional nature of Agential Realism's intra-action dynamic however addresses this gap. By allowing this cultural identity to be read through the conventional securitisation process these paradoxes can be explained, highlighting the limitations of the state-centric focus of ST.

Agential Realism itself allowed for an understanding the Trinidadian Identity. Both the Carnival Identity explored in depth in Chapter 5 and the myth of Trinidadian exceptionalism, explored in chapter 6 required an approach which would allow for the exploration of the entanglement of the material *and* the ideational. In particular history, and non-linear understandings of time played an integral role in seeing how the Carnival Identity was formed and then how the Carnival ethos provided the link between the Carnival Identity and divine protection, such that the Trinidadian Identity emerged. Meanwhile, securitisation theory struggled to account for the types of securitising moves which took place in Trinidad's colonial history, except for when it aligned with 'traditional' aspects of politics – when the colonial administration securitised the Carnival. This is another reminder of the limitations of state-centrism and the mainstream assumption that culture and history are inimical to the 'scientific' study of IR.

Conclusion

This work has shown that classically-informed thinking in International Relations cannot, by itself, account for the complexities of this case study. Indeed, it has shown that while critical approaches to theorising securitisation do seek to consider peripheral ideas, those ideas are still limited by the absence of a means to study and integrate them into the theory effectively. Furthermore residual commitments to mainstream thinking also proved problematic for this research, leaving gaps in attempts to explain the absence of a terrorism narrative for Trinidad and Tobago. These shortcomings were addressed through application of an approach which did not have these constraints, and which was particularly attuned to gaps and what potential they possess.

The diffractive methodology gifted to this work by Barad's quantum thinking allowed for a deep exploration of the case study which facilitated a reading of the material and ideational through each other. It has illustrated the deep entanglement between political processes such as securitisation and factors such as culture, history and identity, even where those factors have been rendered invisible. It has further shown that this is true not only in contexts where it is obvious – like Trinidad, but also in those where it has been rendered invisible, such as in the US, pointing to wide applicability for further work not limited to security studies.

This thesis therefore offers others committed to the discipline of International Relations, and to critical security studies, a steppingstone for further exploration. It shows the potential of a securitisation theory unencumbered by its current limitations, whilst at the same time recognising the power in agential realism for seeing what is not there and recognising how that absence matters to our material reality. In closing, this work invokes Friedrich Nietzsche (2011, 119) to remind that:

[t]here is only a perspective seeing, only a perspective 'knowing;' and the more affects we allow to speak about a thing, the more eyes, different eyes, we know ourselves to apply to the same thing, the more complete will our 'concept' of this thing, our 'objectivity,' be.

Ethics Approval

University of St Andrews | FOUNDED 1413

University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee

16 May 2019

Dear Mya Alexander Owen

Thank you for submitting your ethical application which was considered at the IR School Ethics Committee. The following documents were reviewed:

1. Ethical Application Form
2. Participant Information Sheet
3. Consent Form
4. Debriefing Form
5. Advertisement

The IR School Ethics Committee has been delegated to act on behalf of the University Teaching and Research Ethics Committee (UTREC) and has granted this application ethical approval. The particulars relating to the approved project are as follows -

Approval Code:	IR12895	**Approved on:**	09.06.17	**Approval Expiry:**	09.06.22
Project Title:	Advocating Critical Approaches to Terrorism: A Case Study of Trinidad and Tobago (T&T)				
Researcher(s):	Mya Alexander Owen				
Supervisor(s):	Dr. Caron Gentry				

Approval is awarded for five years. Projects which have not commenced within two years of approval must be re-submitted for review by your School Ethics Committee. If you are unable to complete your research within the five-year approval period, you are required to write to your School Ethics Committee Convener to request a discretionary extension of no greater than 6 months or to re-apply if directed to do so, and you should inform your School Ethics Committee when your project reaches completion.

If you make any changes to the project outlined in your approved ethical application form, you should inform your supervisor and seek advice on the ethical implications of those changes from the School Ethics Convener who may advise you to complete and submit an ethical amendment form for review.

Any adverse incident which occurs during the course of conducting your research must be reported immediately to the School Ethics Committee who will advise you on the appropriate action to be taken.

Approval is given on the understanding that you conduct your research as outlined in your application and in compliance with UTREC Guidelines and Policies (http://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/utrec/guidelinespolicies/). You are also advised to ensure that you procure and handle your research data within the provisions of the Data Provision Act 1998 and in accordance with any conditions of funding incumbent upon you.

Yours sincerely

Convener of the School Ethics Committee

cc Supervisor

School of IR Ethics Committee
irethics@st-andrews.ac.uk

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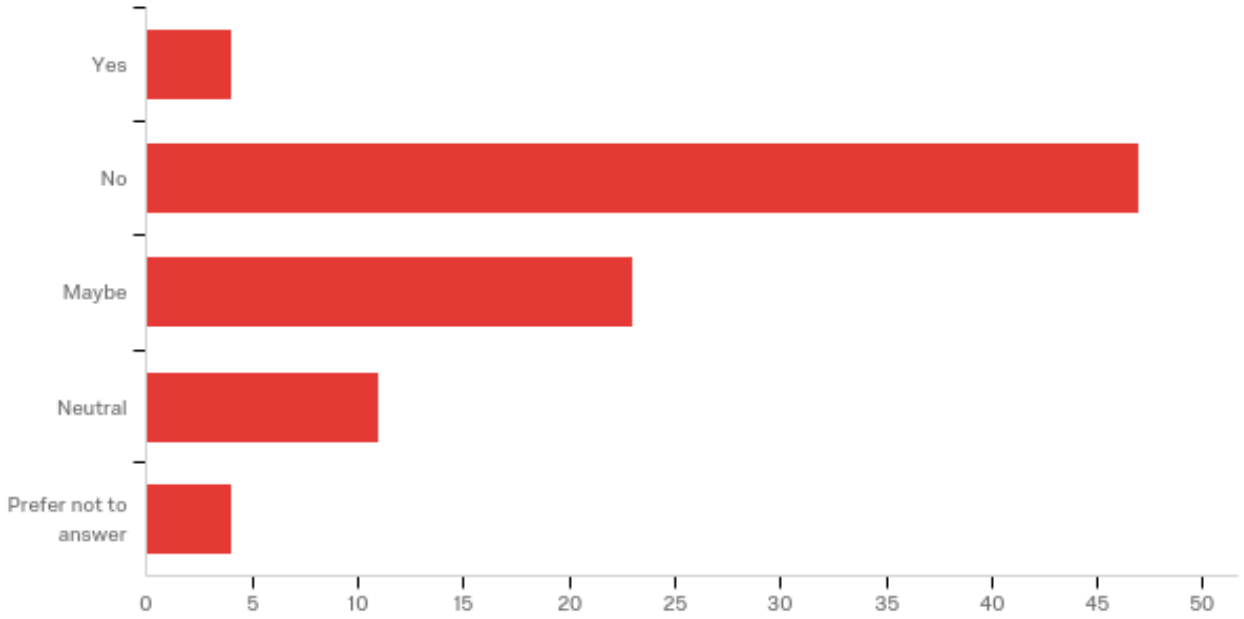
Appendix I

Responses generated from electronic questionnaire conducted in July 2018.

Q23 - Do you think that the previous government of Trinidad and Tobago (The People's Partnership government) took terrorism seriously? What makes you feel this way?



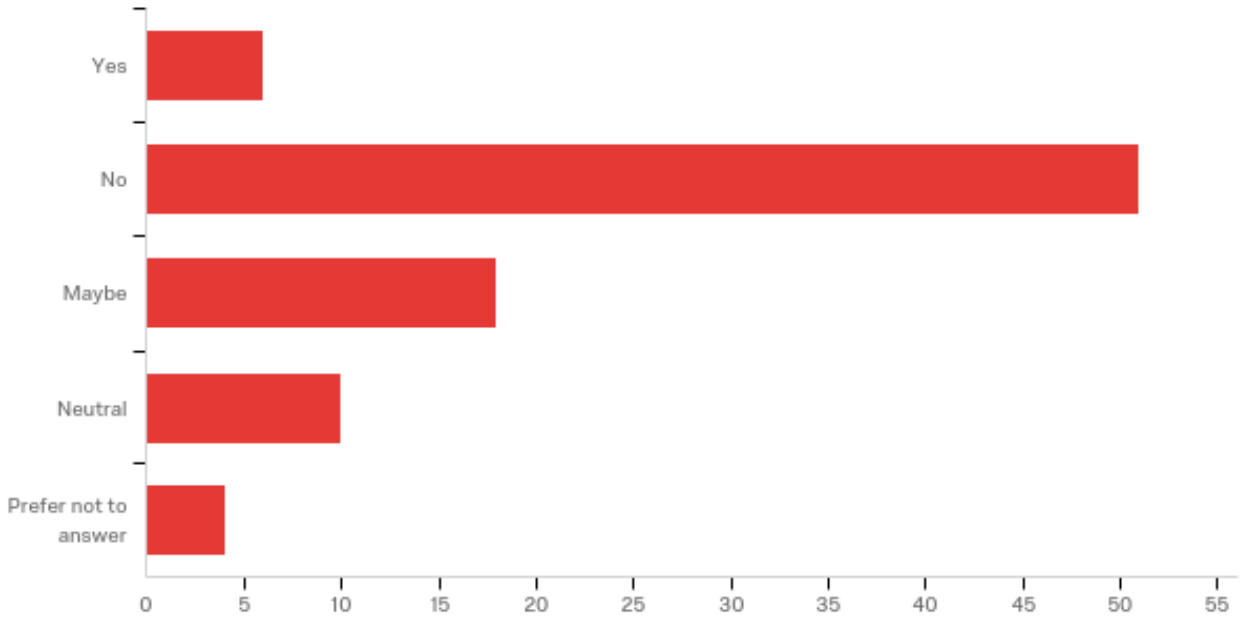
Q23_1_TEXT - Yes
They attempted with certain legislation and the no nonsense attitude
I believe the former National Security Minister, being a former military officer, was more aware of the problem and tried to implement measures to deal with it.
I think they tried to deal with it

Q23_2_TEXT - No
They had other priorities
Our relationship deteriorated with the US from our lack of action in the war against terror
According to reports they disbanded national security services and didn't replace it
Trini's are very lackadaisical and believe that certain things can't happen to them. However, I'm aware that a lot of things aren't related to the public so I can only speak from what I've observed
border controlled was loosened
Focus what bullshitting the public for personal gains
Typical, not much thinking and planning happens in Trinidad and Tobago because our culture has always been 'We will cross that bridge when we meet it'.
We got an inkling of the problem when a group of Trinidadians was held in Venezuela for doing military training and attempting to get to Syria. No plan was put in place to deal with them or their indoctrination centre.
They never openly addressed it as an issue.
they way of treating boarder control was very weak. They dismantled rather than build on the systems that where in place
the dismissed security since they dismantled all security programmes and policies implemented by the previous PNM government
my response is only based on lack of reports by media during their term
I don't feel that they took anything seriously
no. because of the many security measures that were in place that were done away with
We never take anything seriously in this country
They played the blame game, spouted rhetoric and did nothing to increase national security.
No ine does. There is no authority in trinidad
Terrorism at home was not a key issue for most of their tenure.
I don't have an explanation. I don't think any government takes anything seriously in general.
Throughout their term I never once heard them mention a plan to begin dealing with the problem of locals leaving to join ISIS. It didn't seem to even come up on their radar.
Lack of action.
No government thus far seems to be taking terrorism seriously
I don't think they took anything seriously except lining their pockets
Because the previous Goverment had garnered a significant level of inteligence on the nationals who left to assist with ISIS activities in the Middle East and nothing was done to threat with that.
Nothing was visible

Q23_3_TEXT - Maybe
They attempted to recover assets from the Jamat al Muslimeen and so i could say they expressed some level of the need for justice. But their Hindu majority base use social mediums to criticise muslims in a religious fundamental level and so such efforts had the opposite effect.
My first answer was NO and its mainly because of the cancellation of security system already in place while planning and waiting to put the measures in place.
Based on the agreements with the international agencies
I am not sure about the facts, so I'm not sure!
certain crimes we held at bay whereas some were allowed to flourished so it's a 50-50
I don't know, I have lived outside of Trinidad and Tobago since 2012 and have been in and out before that and wasn't connecting with the news
Well, national security which is not evident to ordinary citizens, one can never know the entire plan
Not sure
Kamla had signed anti terrorist agreement with the US
To an extent, from their declaration of a state of emergency during a spate of high fatal criminal activity which meant that there was some attention being placed on the possibility of growing terrorism
They did seek to ban returning fighters, indicating some awareness of the possibility of a threat.
Aside from some Legislation passed, I can't quite recall anything concrete done by them to combat terrorism
Both parties haven't done enough. No one party is to blame

Q23_4_TEXT - Neutral
I do not know
Not sure about that governments actions. However, they inherited a big mess to clean up and a huge crime problem.
Crime was lower that's all
I don't know.
I tend to think our government is useless, no matter which party is in power.

Q24 - Do you think that the current government of Trinidad and Tobago (The PNM government) takes terrorism seriously? What makes you feel this way?



Q24_1_TEXT - Yes
Legislation has been past to counter terrorism. Security mechanism and policies have been established or some have at least been initiated to counter the treat of terrorism.
attempts made to improve border security
Since the 1990 the Manning administration had collaborated with CARICOM to treat with security on both national and regional scale,(CARICOM IMPACS) This was done with collaboration with the US security department
the implementation of measures that identify and seize assets of persons who have been identified as having terrorists links and the beefing up of security protocols
Not with their own terrorist but they seem to pay much attention on those who have left or can potentially leave to join isis
More seriously than the previous but no by a large margin. I feel that US economic interests are at play in affecting government priorities.

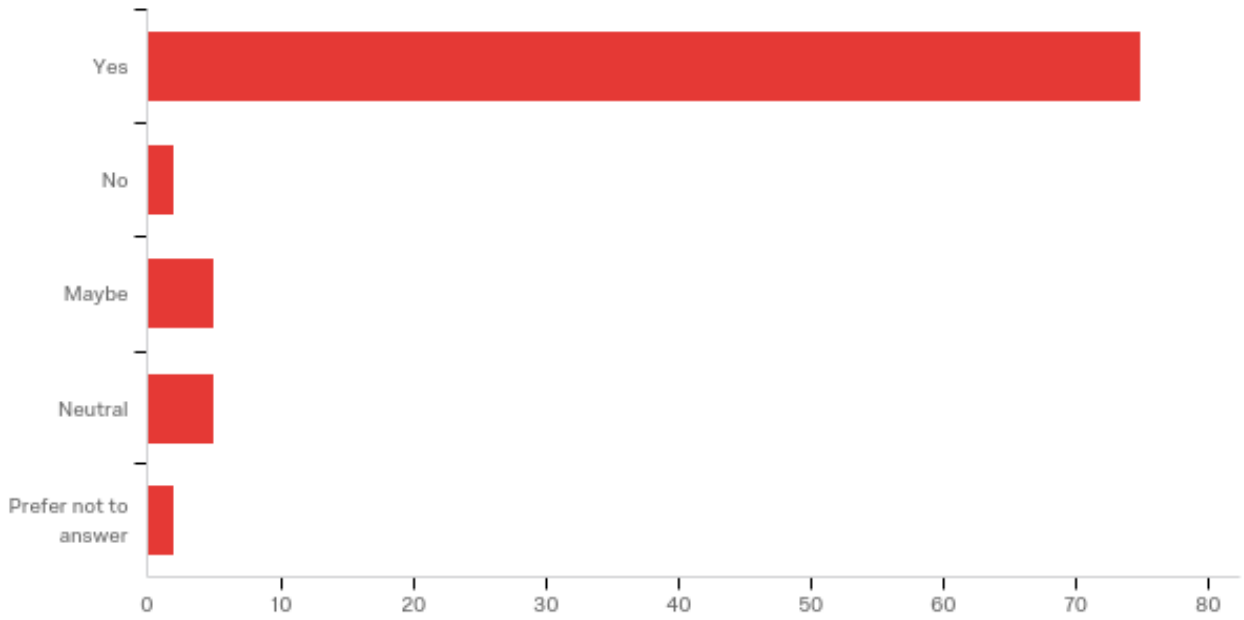
Q24_2_TEXT - No
Because they are shutting.down all major crime fighting initiatives
We have seen an increase of serious crimes if they can't have that under control how can they take terrorism seriously
It does not seem to be a focus to make the population aware of the fight aggressively from my viewpoint
Bigger issues more in focus
Knowing that we have all of these persons with ISIS, no clear plan for dealing with them seems to be in place.
Many home grown Islamic terrorists come from traditionally PNM areas. The PNM's patrimonial approach to politics subsidised this phenomenon.
I feel the same about the previous government
They don't take anything seriously
No government takes anything other than their own agenda seriously
Do they take anything seriously besides taxation?
They play the blame game, spout rhetoric and do nothing to increase national security.
I really don't think so based on the news I read about Trinidad and Tobago and Facebook feeds from my friends who live in Trinidad and Tobago
All of our politicians are useless jokers
To date, the current government hasn't presented a crime prime. And the recent fiasco involving Marlene McDonald begs the question of whether party members are in league with criminal elements.
This govt and ones before are short-sighted and have multiple problems to deal with. Not is taken seriously in Trinidad until the problem is staring you in the face, by which time it is too late of course.
I think they are not doing they all to fight this problem of crime
The crime rate is higher and the guns are plentiful
See above answer. At the same time, politics is a complicated game. Perhaps their hands are tied and they "cannot" do anything.
More and stricter measures should be placed
I still haven't heard of any comprehensive anti-terrorism or anti-radicalisation plan.
Lack of action.
As above
They seem to be in denial that it is even an issue.
I think they give lip service to it now because it's such a hot topic and the facts are out about our connection to ISIS but I don't see anything major being done
They continue to deny in the media that there are ties to ISIS among locals or that locals are joining ISIS to be trained.
Doesn't seem so

As above

Q24_3_TEXT - Maybe
I don't think it's at the top of their priority list given the economic issues
My first answer is yes, as I did not observe the tenacity to disrupt the security system they met in place .
I am not sure about the facts, so I'm not sure!
It doesn't feel that way but I don't have facts to be sure
They have been pushing for legislation and significant changes in the way crime is handled
same approach as previous
Most likely their preventative measures cannot be wisely discussed in public.
Same as above
They are barely dealing with isolated crime activity, but if the danger escalates they may seek to defend our people as any government ought to, hopefully before it is too late.
This present administration has lost momentum from the undertakings of the previous Patrick Manning led administration.

Q24_4_TEXT - Neutral
I do not know
i honestly dont think terrorism could be taken seriously by any government
I don't know their stance. Maybe not, because TT governments are afraid to dictate to religions.
Same as previous.

Q27 - Do you think that the current government of Trinidad and Tobago (The PNM government) needs to take terrorism more seriously? What makes you feel this way?



Q27_1_TEXT - Yes
There is precidence to suggest that it could happen again. And considering our harsh economic situations are as similar to what there was then, lughtening could strike twice.
Better to be prepared than unprepared, especially when taking into consideration of the currenty global trends as it pertains to terrorism
Because the ideas still get into the young minds of.the youths
Start putting taps on the persons they sent back ensuring they are not coming back to recruit
But how would the population know what is being done? Wouldn't that be construed as a breach of security?
We do not feel safe and our information is limited to this situation from the authorities
But I'm not sure if they have any policies against or how serious they are about this
in talks with the US to get their support in fighting terrorism
Our very nature is. Wong reactive. We need to deal with the threat proactively
We are an oil-based economy which will be seriously affected by any terrorist activity.
ISIS fighters enter and leave Trinidad as they please. What fuctional state would allow this?

if your neighbor house is on fire you need to wet yours
With the alleged numbers of T&T fighters, there are connections with friends and family at home , so measures should be put in place to avert any security threatse
I do not know what actions, if any, are taken covertly. That said, their lack of overt or public actions leaves me concerned.
They need to take crossing the road more seriously, so yes - terrorism becomes part of the everything they need to take more seriously
for the simply fact that it is better to try and prevent a possible attack than react to an attack
History has shown that under ALl PNM Governments crime has escalated
The number of murders and unlawful activities are not dealt with as it is, what will change if s terrorist act happens.
Do they have a plan? For anything?
They don't right now
Absolutely; we have a problem because some people of Trinbagonian descent feel disenfranchised and disengaged enough to leave Trinidad and Tobago to commit crimes against humanity (e.g. Rape oif Yazidi women; beheading of journalists)
There is still no definitive word on if suspected ISIS nationals can legally return or not.
Well, if current crime situation seems to be beyond what it can manage, one wonders about a terriorist act
Yes I think they do to avoid another incident like the couple taking place
Because more and more reports are stating that Trinidadians are going to fight with ISIS
because it can become a runaway train
Yea but nothing to do with ISIS. Terrorism is existing in this country long before ISIS and has nothing to do with the coup. Citizens are being killed in broad daylight and their killers get away with it. Our government is so focussed on what is going on abroad when our own country is being terrorised with criminal without a conscience
As I said above there are too much guns in trinidad and anyone come to trini and stay they won't pick up with them
Of course, I think the current Muslimeen group is a bunch of thugs and criminals.
They are generally not serious. However, I think that on the subject of terrorism, they need to do a proper job of investigating the motives as to why someone would involve themselves in terrorism and create ways to deter them for pursuing such a path.
As a small nation with big interests, we need to oreserve our assets and safeguard a future for our children.
In my opinion it is more a threat and so i believe the army should be better utilised
If nothing else, just because of the sheer proportion of ISIS-trained operatives within the population of the country.
Every government should, but Trinidad's more so, given the high per capita no. of ISIL recruits
Is there anything to suggest the government are not in denial about terrorism (amongst other things)?

Fact that Trinidad is linked to isis is hurting our economy. Travel bans to and from island is not what we want nor need.
For the reasons already stated.
We regularly have people going off to ISIS. At least some of them will return.. That should say enough.
They need to act on the intelligence that they have
They can no longer live with their head in the sand and deny statistics coming out of the US on the level of involvement of nationals joining ISIS,unless they wish a repeat of 1990.
Of course . If developed nations such as France and the UK are susceptible, why should we see ourselves as exempt of such activity ?
The threat seems larger now with more media stories of people going abroad to fight for ISIS
I think they need to look at terrorism as a symptom of the corrupt inner structure of government and focus on ways to limit and stem the localized effects of external forces.

Q27_2_TEXT
No Responses

Q27_3_TEXT - Maybe
Yes, but domestic terrorism is very hard to control by nature
Yes and no. If they start to fix the broken social and educational systems then it may allow them to focus on terrorism. Then again is the police force in a state to deal with terrorism? Probably not. It is quite a complex issue and I think to look at it as a separate issue will just encourage them to waste more resources on blimps etc.

Q27_4_TEXT - Neutral
i honestly dont know if that would be good or bad for the safety of citizens. it rests on the competence of security intelligence

Appendix II

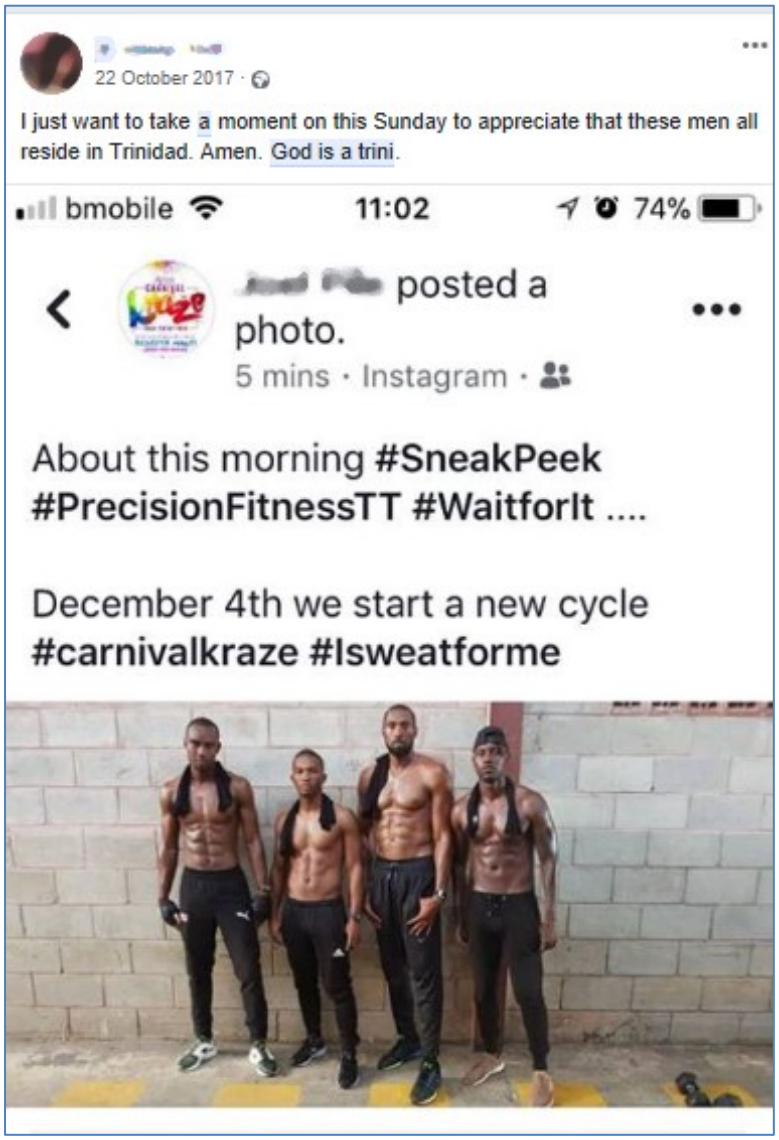
Appendix II Figure 1

Appendix II Figure 2

Appendix II Figure 3

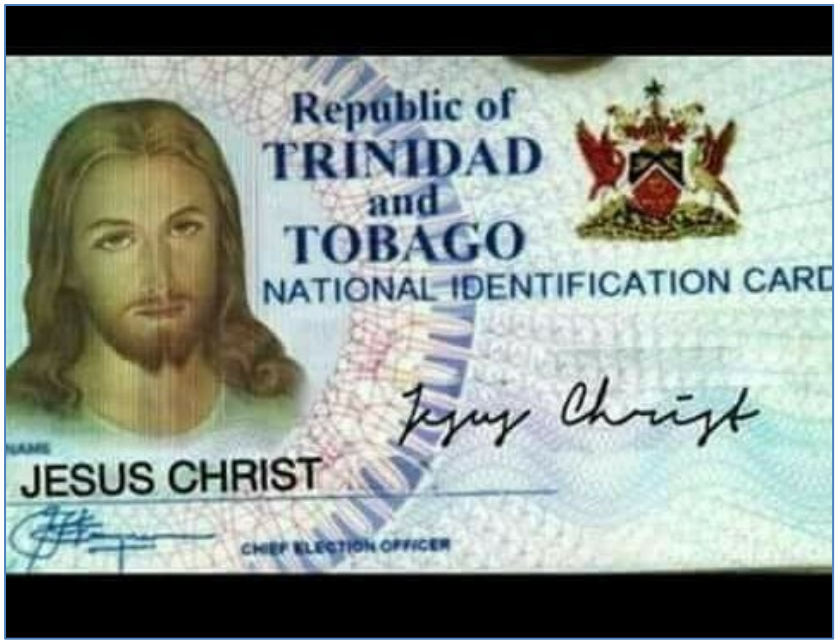
Appendix II Figure 4

Appendix III



Appendix III Figure 1

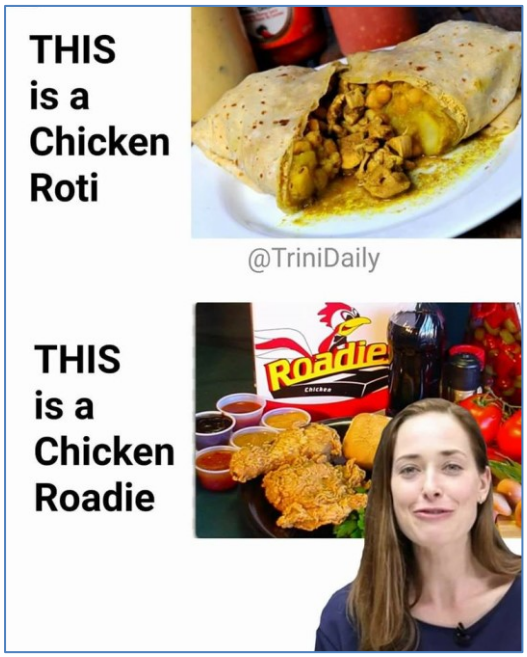
Appendix III Figure 2



Appendix III Figure 3

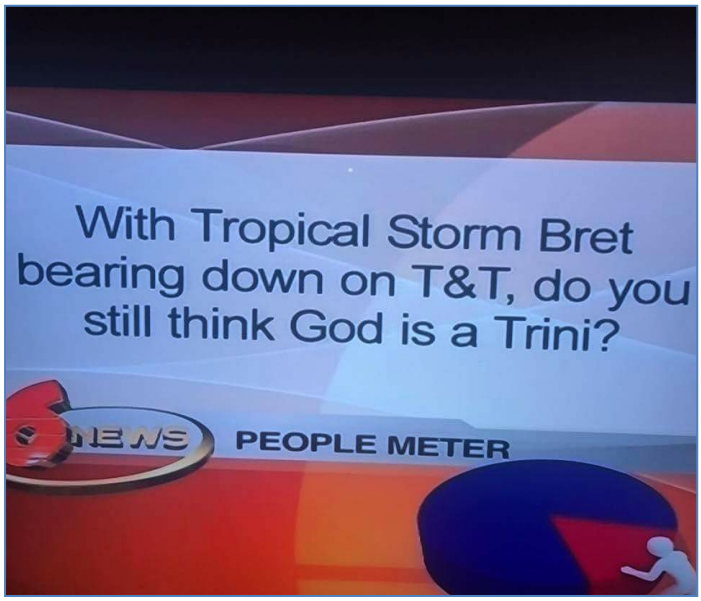
Appendix III Figure 4

Appendix III Figure 5
Comments taken from:
http://www.looptt.com/content/watch-trinis-outraged-roti-declared-too-big-one-meal



Appendix III Figure 6

Appendix III Figure 7

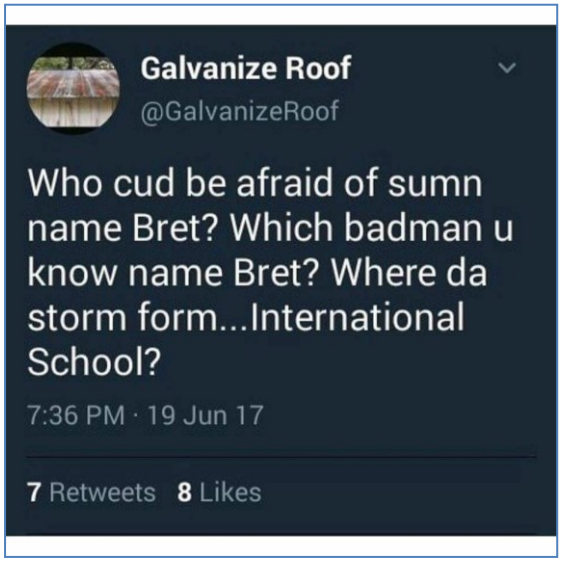


Appendix III Figure 8

Appendix III Figure 9

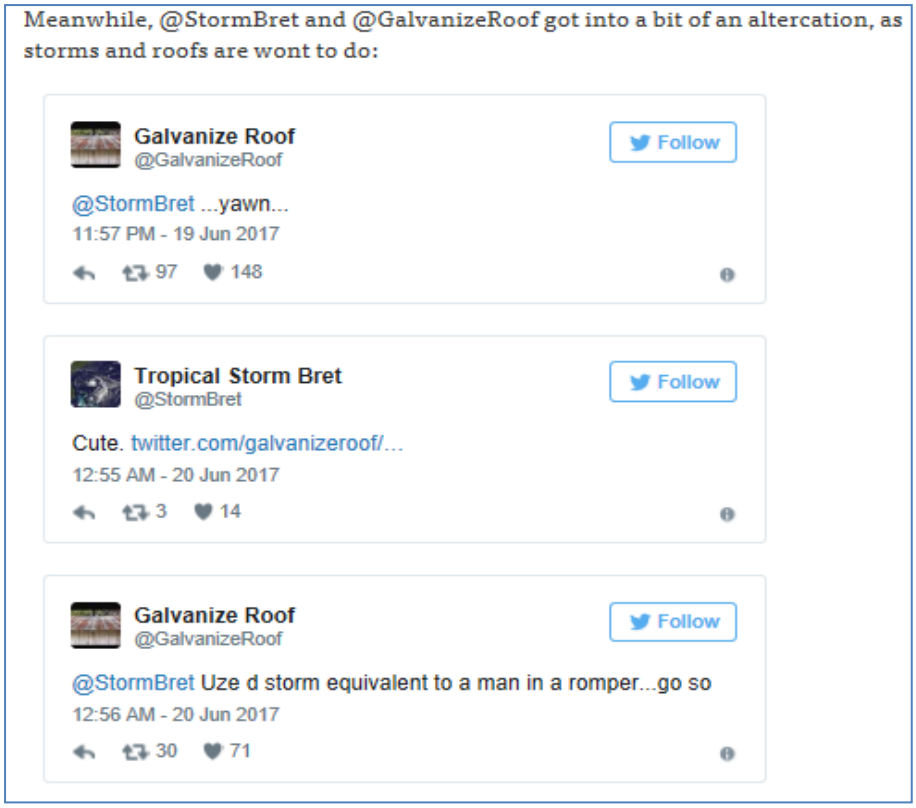
Appendix III Figure 10

Appendix III Figure 11



Appendix III Figure 12

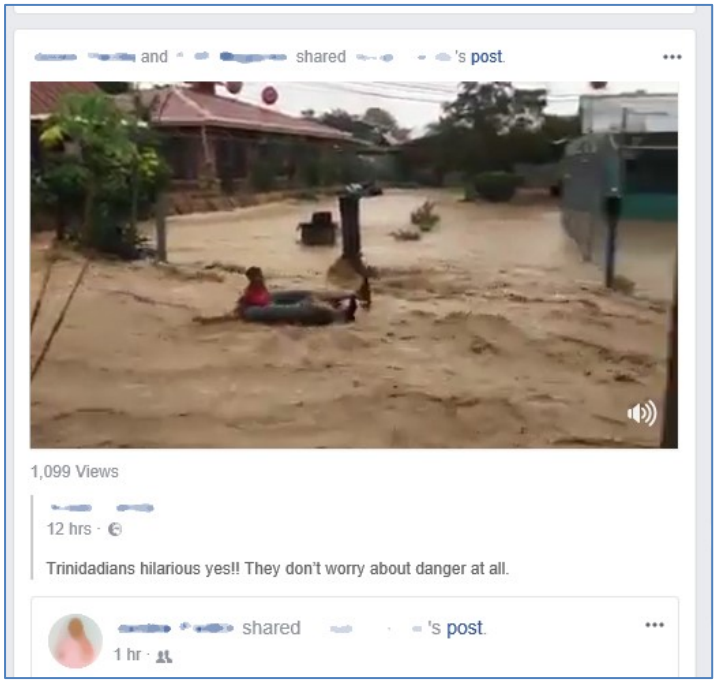
Meanwhile, @StormBret and @GalvanizeRoof got into a bit of an altercation, as storms and roofs are wont to do:



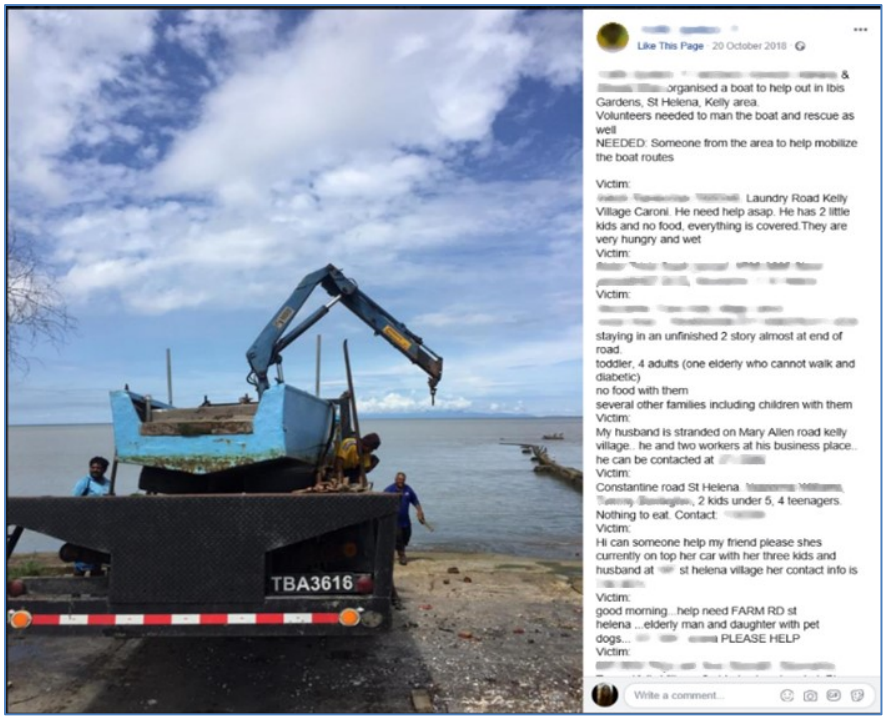
Appendix III Figure 13

Appendix III Figure 14

Appendix III Figure 15



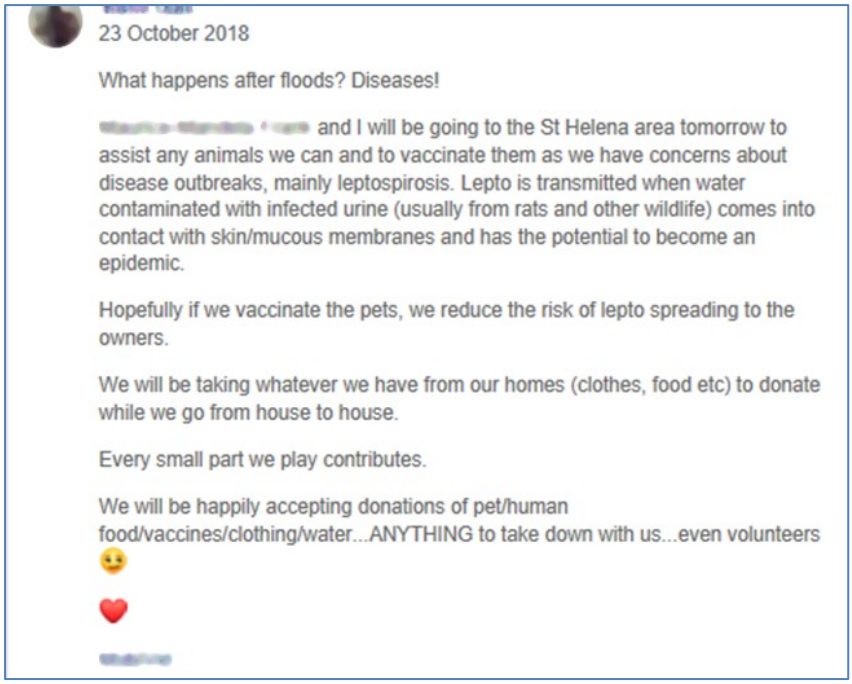
Appendix III Figure 16



Appendix III Figure 17

Caption reads: Traffik Spotters TT members Kaveesh Maharaj and Ahmad Khan organised a boat to help out in Ibis Gardens

Appendix III Figure 188



23 October 2018

What happens after floods? Diseases!

[redacted] and I will be going to the St Helena area tomorrow to assist any animals we can and to vaccinate them as we have concerns about disease outbreaks, mainly leptospirosis. Lepto is transmitted when water contaminated with infected urine (usually from rats and other wildlife) comes into contact with skin/mucous membranes and has the potential to become an epidemic.

Hopefully if we vaccinate the pets, we reduce the risk of lepto spreading to the owners.

We will be taking whatever we have from our homes (clothes, food etc) to donate while we go from house to house.

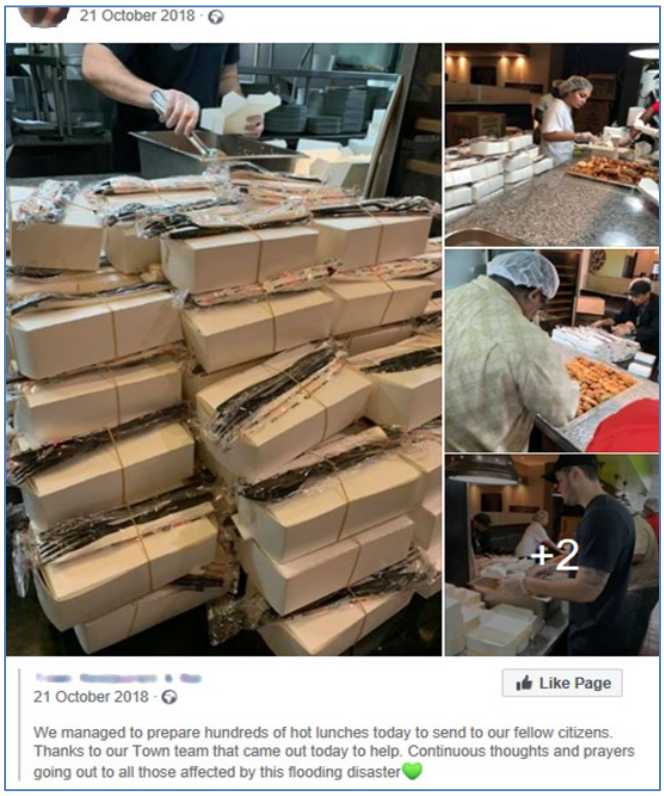
Every small part we play contributes.

We will be happily accepting donations of pet/human food/vaccines/clothing/water...ANYTHING to take down with us...even volunteers 😉

❤️

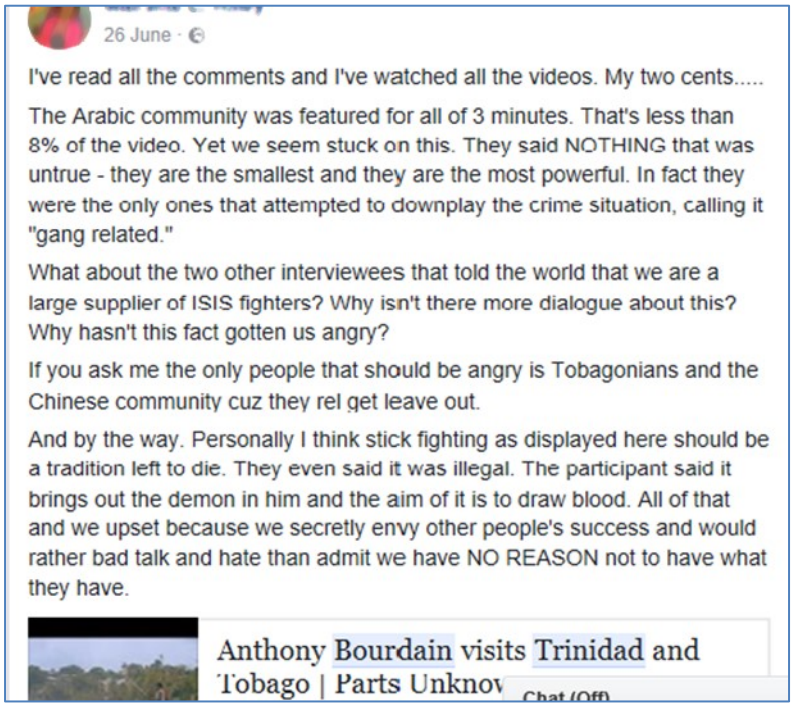
[redacted]

Appendix III Figure 19



Appendix III Figure 20

Appendix III Figure 21



Appendix III Figure 22

Appendix III Figure 23

Appendix III Figure 24

Appendix III Figure 25

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